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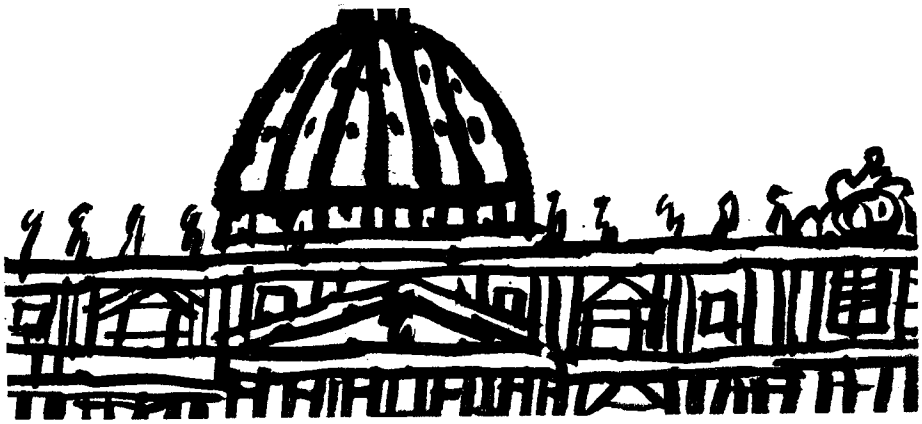

ELECTIONS IN THE CHURCH

Joseph O'Donoghue

MOBILIZING THE POOR

Frank Riessman

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CORRESPONDENCE

St. John's

Amherst, Mass.

To the Editors: I spent nine years at St. John's University—four years as a student and five years as a member of the faculty. As a student I had the good fortune to study under such men as Joe Holland (English), Tom Vincitorio (History), Alfredo Antonini (Music), and Attilio Salerno (Philosophy). With the exception of Antonini, these educators are not well known, but any college that appreciates quality teaching would be happy to have them on its staff. There are other laymen at St. John's equally gifted as teachers, many of whom have not sought greener pastures because of their genuine dedication to the University. Insofar as St. John's is able to keep these individuals, there is much hope for the future. But judging from John Leo's "Family Planning at St. John's" [April 30] the future looks dim.

As a group, the Vincentians are amiable, well-meaning, and humble men; they have never struck me as being greedy, ambitious, or power-hungry. They take justifiable pride in their community, they dutifully obey orders, and they generally do the best they can with what they have. Many of the priests at St. John's are overworked—their extra-curricular activities include parish novenas, Saturday Confessions, and Sunday Masses—but they seldom complain, possibly because it is in their "leisure" time that they see the real meaning of their priesthood. Most Vincentians became priests not out of a desire to be college professors and administrators, but to serve in parishes and in the mission field.

The Vincentian who teaches theology does not have much of a problem. Theology courses are not taken seriously by anyone, so very little is expected of priests teaching these courses (incidentally, the very fact that the Vincentians have proved so inept in raising theology to a respectable level of scholarship seriously indicts their demand to "some reservations of power over curricular patterns" in that discipline). The Vincentian administrator, however, controls the destiny of the University, and he knows it. Yet often he is ill-prepared for his leadership role—and he knows this, too. As a result, he tends to be overly cautious, overly suspicious, and plain scared to death of making a mistake. "The way things have always been done" becomes his crutch, and slow but unsure progress his consolation. This negative attitude is best exemplified not by "Father Knows Best," but "Father No's Best."

There is one viable solution to this whole mess: the Vincentians should surrender St. John's into the hands of professional lay educators, educators whose primary interest in life is the intellectual development of students. There is precedent for this kind of dissociation in institutions such as Amherst, Northwestern, and Harvard; the fact that St. John's is a Catholic institution should not make the solution any less workable. Lay administrators might decide to assign Vincentians as chaplains to the University (there is also precedent for this in non-Catholic sectarian institutions), or such administrators might allow the Vincentians to teach in the Department of Theology, provided the Vincentians could come up with a worthwhile program in this discipline. I am not competent to suggest a detailed procedure for divesting the Vincentians of St. John's (I doubt that they will leave quietly), but pressure from the alumni—many of whom have unhappy memories of Vincentian heavy-handedness—might be a useful first step.

Separating St. John's from the Vincentians should not be viewed as severe punishment for past sins. It should be viewed as passing the torch to more appropriate hands at a time when the complexities of learning, the demands for intellectual excellence, and the unyielding competition among all institutions to attract the best students, signify the need for superior professional competence in teaching and administration. There is no doubt that the Vincentians have contributed much to the development of Catholic higher education. There is much doubt that they have any more to contribute.

THOMAS F. MADER
Amherst College

Archaic and Esoteric?

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The analysis of patriarchate and cardinalate by Thomas E. Bird ["Red Hats as Red Flags," March 26] seems an apt illustration of the truism that good will sometimes prevents understanding. Implicit in the article is the conclusion that real agreement with the Eastern Church can perhaps only be achieved by compromising certain hard-won aspects of the present reform movement, a conclusion Mr. Bird does not seem to recognize.

The claims to primacy advanced by the Eastern patriarchs (and by Mr. Bird) are in the last analysis highly legalistic, archaic, and esoteric. It is after all only by a series of forgotten historical accidents that bishops who preside over relative handfuls of Catholics on the fringes of the Moslem world should be able to assert primacy over, for example, the archbishop of Paris. The patriarchates and the national primacies were established in distant centuries when the geographical and numerical composition of the Church was much different from what it is now and tend to have little relevance to the existing Church.

The unreality of the situation is unintentionally mirrored in Mr. Bird's rather forced arguments. Whatever its legal status, the College of Cardinals does not function as a Roman diocesan commission. However serious its limitations, it is generally regarded as the senate of the universal Church, including the heads of the more populous sees and a wide geographical sampling. To allow a "patriarchal college" composed entirely of prelates drawn from Arab lands to take precedence over all other bishops in the Church is to give tradition and ceremony too much due. What seems called for now is the de-emphasis of all legal and ceremonial offices, in-

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cluding the papacy and the cardinalate, not a revival of exalted claims which have been dormant.

It is surely not insignificant that the only conciliar issue which has aroused feelings of nationalism was the schema on the Jews. Even the most charitable analysis could scarcely see the Eastern bishops' almost *en bloc* rejection of this decree as anything more than a compromise with Arab prejudices. By contrast the proposal to condemn nuclear arms failed to arouse the opposition of more than a handful of American bishops.

The unhappy truth is that the Eastern churches, especially the more numerous Orthodox, have a long history of close involvement with nationalism and of subservience to the secular order, phenomena which have been found only irregularly in the West. (The opposite extreme from the German bishops' acceptance of the Nazis was of course Pius IX's impotent fulminating against the whole modern world.) Despite (or because of) its frequent excesses, the papacy for centuries preserved the ideal of a universal Church and prevented the Church from falling under the domination of the state. Orthodoxy and Protestantism were not as successful in escaping this fate.

Although enforced assimilation is of course unthinkable, it seems open to serious question whether enthusiastic endorsement of the distinct privileges of the Eastern Catholics does not serve to prolong divisions and misunderstandings within the Church. The uniate peoples have been severely ghettoized both in the Old World and the New, with the Church usually serving as the focal point of the ghetto. If the uniates resent sporadic attempts to "romanize" them, this is precisely because they have retained distinct liturgies capable of being threatened. Western Catholics were long ago deprived of this right.

JAMES HITCHCOCK

Patriarchs and Cardinals

McCall, Idaho

To the Editors: Thomas E. Bird's article "Red Hats as Red Flags" [March

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THE MOOD OF THE POPE

The speeches a Pope gives, or the documents he signs his name to, are not always an adequate guide to his thought or to the force of his pontificate. It is clear enough now that Pope John will be remembered by his brilliant social encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. But he also gave a great number of murky, undistinguished occasional speeches, some of which caused alarm at the time, and he did sign his name to some regrettable documents—*Veterum Sapientiae*, for instance, and the encyclical *Aeterni Dei Sapientia*, which so affronted the Orthodox churches.

The anxiety occasioned by some of Pope Paul's speeches and documents may ultimately be proved as baseless as that aroused by some of John's early statements. Still, the anxiety is a factor and must be taken into account. The lapse in referring to the Jews as the killers of Christ was a mistake, and one that coincides with news of a fresh attempt to water down the Council's statement on anti-Semitism. Though it was followed by many unsatisfactory explanations both in Rome and the United States, it brought no apology from the Pope himself. In view of the delicacy of relations between Catholics and Jews, one should have been forthcoming.

Again, in his speech last week assigning the Jesuits "the specific task of tackling atheism with all the weapons in (their) possession," the Pope lapsed into an aggressive and polemical attitude toward unbelievers that he himself had rejected in several statements, including his first encyclical, *Ecclesiam Suam*. Like the slip on the Jews, the speech to the Jesuits came at precisely the wrong time, just as the Pope's own Secretariat for Unbelievers was initiating the first attempt at positive dialogue with atheists that *Ecclesiam Suam* had hoped for. The speech was doubly unfortunate since the Jesuits are gathering in Rome to adapt themselves to the *aggiornamento*, and to divest themselves of the Counter-Reformation polemics which the Pope's speech apparently recommended.

Other recent papal speeches seem to indicate the Pope's current mood.

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Pope John's speeches were stamped with a buoyant optimism. Pope Paul has been focusing on dangers—the danger in the world situation, which is understandable, but also the dangers of ecumenism, the dangers of atheism, of new theologies, Council news coverage and criticism in the Church.

What does it all indicate? Perhaps nothing more than the way the Pope responds to the problems he faces during these first months of 1965. Perhaps simply a response to curial pressures while the Fathers of the Vatican Council are away from Rome. Some of these speeches have been highly unusual for Pope Paul, whose prose is nearly always carefully balanced and judicious. The attacks on the secular press (for allegedly distorting coverage of the third session) and on some critics and theologians within the Church were highly vituperative. In the latter speech the Pope accused unnamed Catholics of denying the validity of traditional Catholic teachings in order to invent unsupportable new theologies. The Pope also complained bitterly of "those who to be modern find everything beautiful, imitable and supportable when looking in other areas and all that is unbearable, debatable and outdated in our area."

Anyone who fits into this category should, of course, be recognized as a danger. But there is also a danger that the reforming bishops and theologians who are implementing the *aggiornamento* will be lumped together with the unnamed Catholics who are creating unsupportable new theologies. We hope that the Pope's decision to focus on the dangers in the reformist camp is not a harbinger for the fourth and last session of the Council. At this point, with reports that the Jewish statement and the religious-freedom statement are being tampered with, it appears that the real dangers to the *aggiornamento* lie elsewhere.

A MINORITY VIEW

The student demonstrations at Berkeley this winter have been interpreted in Marxist terms of class war (with the students in the role of the alienated and disenfranchised proletariat), as the intellectual equivalent of a panty raid, and as the legitimate extension into the academic sphere of civil rights tactics to protest the just grievances of the students. But whatever the view, it is generally agreed that the Berkeley administration's handling of the crisis was ineffective and only aggravated the situation.

Yet it is doubtful many college administrations would have fared better; divided among themselves on how to regard student demands as such, irrespective of their merits, the Berkeley officials reflected the generally ambiguous attitudes that prevail toward college students in America. Every year these lead to many similar, though less publicized, campus conflicts between students and administrators, a good percentage of them centering on student publications and the question of censorship. Almost every former student editor has his hair-raising tale of heroic resistance, or, more usually, of the futility of such resistance and perhaps of the whole idea of truly free and responsible student publications.

Indeed, on Catholic campuses the tradition of free student expression hardly exists, though in justice it might be added that the same is true of the majority of non-Catholic colleges. And the rash of protests two years ago against censorship at some of the larger Catholic universities suggests that there is dissatisfaction with the way things have been. Perhaps this is partly due to the example of those students active in civil rights, who have helped the cause of student responsibility and freedom throughout the country.

In any case, the recent action of Tufts University which places editorial control over student publications completely in the hands of students is welcome recognition that a commitment to ideas and personal integrity is better served by freedom than by censorship. This, despite possibly embarrassing consequences for the college. For the university statement says in part, "Unless we are prepared to defend him [the student editor] at those times when his compulsion toward the honesty of his vision, no matter how mismanaged, brings him into conflict with the more sedate views of the community, we cannot wish him well in his seeking, nor can we fulfill our purposes as a university." Such sentiments will never be in the majority, but, we wonder, how many Catholic colleges are willing to join such a distinguished minority?

UNDECLARED WARS

We have had the feeling these last few weeks of being on a roller-coaster. With the increase of American ground troops in Vietnam comes word from South Vietnamese Premier Phan Huy Quat that he "foresees Vietnamese and U.S. combat forces fighting side by side." In Santo Domingo, junta soldiers advance into rebel territory behind fighting units of U.S. Marines and paratroopers.

As the momentum gathers, Congress has yet to debate our actions in these two countries, though

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matters of war and peace fall properly within its competence. The precedent for undeclared wars was Korea, which, never debated or passed upon by Congress, soon became "Truman's War." Congress did, however, show its support by the indirect means of voting funds to carry on the fighting.

Last week the nation was treated to another spectacle of Congress deliberately avoiding its responsibility to debate matters of war and peace, yet supporting Administration policies by granting a requested $700 million to carry them out. The action was even more noxious in that the money was not needed, except as a pretext to display confidence in the President.

We hear a good deal of talk about the President's "lonely burden," which we can appreciate. But under the circumstances, we wonder if this is not an artful dodge, a rationalization of the bankruptcy of Congressional leadership. The Constitution provides ample room for the President to share the burden of war with Congress; and if that is impractical in nuclear war, it is not in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic where there is not the slightest danger of nuclear strikes against the United States. There has been plenty of time to debate Vietnam policy, to criticize, and perhaps to offer alternatives. This is largely true of our activities in Santo Domingo as well.

Yet this has been called impractical because 1) nobody presumably knows the situation as well as the President, and 2) debate in Congress only complicates our dealings with foreign powers.

We are inclined to agree in part, for diplomacy by nature must be conducted according to subtle timetables and largely in secret. But when does diplomacy stop and war begin? Clausewitz would say they are merely different modes of the same thing, but we have had enough *Realpolitik* already. President Johnson has taken us up to (and perhaps past) the brink on two fronts, making a prosecutor's case for his actions. We wait expectantly for the defense, if indeed there is a partial analogy between the adversary system in our courts and the checks and balances system in our government.

CHEATING AND SYMBOLS

Practically speaking, the military service academies exist for the sole purpose of producing officers, but they have always served a symbolic role as well. They have provided not only trained bodies but an image of what the all-American boy is supposed to be: straight back, square jaw, technically competent, patriotic, honorable, and sensibly impervious to all the antics of the fringe groups in American life. The service academies have even shown a sensitivity to changes in the symbols; since culture is "in" these days it is even possible to take elective courses in literature and history.

Every now and then, unhappily, even the best symbols run into trouble. The all-American boy, it turns out, is as capable of cheating as his less gifted and blessed brother. For that reason, 109 cadets resigned recently from the Air Force Academy, and this despite an honor code, compulsory chapel attendance and the gentlemanly traditions of military life. Awkward, indeed. Obviously there would have to be an investigation, and so there was.

The results will not be pleasing to all-American adults. For the report of a special committee called by the Secretary of the Air Force came up with two wholly un-American conclusions. First, that there is no evidence to show that football players make better officers; and, second, that big-time football schedules are not consistent with educational excellence. These are hard truths, though not exactly new ones. The working assumption has been that if the service academies can't smash a Harvard or a Kenyon in football, then the United States is hardly likely to win any wars. The committee, in brief, has heretically concluded that this line of reasoning is nonsense.

Where will all this lead? That we can't say, but it is at least certain that the committee has put its finger on one of the major weaknesses of the service academies; that is, their reliance on old-fashioned bits of American wisdom which have no meaning whatsoever any longer (assuming they ever did). Part of that wisdom is that important institutions need to work zealously in the vineyard of public image and public relations. Service academy football has been designed to serve these ends as well as physical fitness. Football is good for a school's reputation: that too is a hallowed bit of American lore.

The irony of course is that the only kind of college or university worth having is one which is able to set its face against the fads of society. This should be as true of the service academies as of any other institution. Perhaps it is even more important for the academies, given the inevitably influential place the military establishment will have as long as the cold war continues. The trouble with trying to produce living symbols of American life is that they are likely to partake of the ills of that life. That is what happened at the Air Force Academy. It is hard to see how anything else could have been expected.

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WASHINGTON REPORT

The Marines Have Landed

Events in the Dominican Republic, which broke with astonishing swiftness, have cruelly exposed the intellectual poverty of the Johnson Administration's policy for Latin America.

President Johnson has good intentions toward the Dominican people; he wants to save them from a Communist conspiratorial takeover from which they could not escape. He has also demonstrated a commendable willingness to use American power promptly and firmly. On both these points, he deserves high marks.

But he has failed to understand sufficiently that in waging political warfare against the Communists, he has to create a positive political context. Otherwise, he can easily be misidentified—as he has been—with the "dollar diplomacy" of William Howard Taft and Calvin Coolidge, whose purposes were considerably different from his own. He has also become entangled with the "non-intervention" clichés of the 1930's which are irrelevant to the problem in Latin America in the 1960's but which, in the absence of any competing ideals, are still potent.

The basic problem in Latin America, except for a few fortunate and well-governed countries such as Uruguay and Costa Rica, is that there is a terrible disparity between the mass of poor who live in misery and a small, selfish ruling class. A profound social upheaval is coming and is needed in most Latin countries. The only issue is not whether there will be a revolution but whether it will be under Castroite-Communist auspices or under the control of liberal, middle-class, reformist elements. Cuba represents the first alternative. Under Castro, there have been some obvious gains in social equality and in literacy but at the cost of driving a quarter-million Cubans into exile, snuffing out all intellectual and political freedoms, disorganizing the economy, and at least temporarily lowering the standard of living of city workers and the middle class. Venezuela and Chile represent the constructive, reformist alternative. Both these countries have honest governments that are trying to achieve social justice for the peasants and workers and promote economic development but without destroying individual liberties.

President Kennedy understood the true shape of the Latin American problem. That is why he started the Alliance for Progress, which was an effort to use American money and American political pressure to prod the ruling oligarchies toward self-reform and to speed up progress wherever it was already under way as in Venezuela. In my judgment, the Alliance for Progress was Kennedy's greatest contribution in foreign affairs during his presidency. It was frequently subject to criticism by observers who applied ridiculously severe criteria. Naturally, it was only beginning to show signs of progress by the time of his death in 1963. But no one should ever have expected otherwise. The reform of Latin American societies is the work of decades and of generations. In our own country, we are currently discovering how difficult it is to develop effective anti-poverty programs. Why should anyone expect it to be easier in Brazil than in Harlem and Appalachia?

Kennedy recognized that economic and social reform had a crucial political dimension. The United States could not afford to be identified with the military juntas, which are the allies and protectors of the ruling oligarchies, if it was to compete effectively with Castro and the Communists for the allegiance of the dispossessed. He gave at least tacit support to the overthrow of Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, withdrew our ambassador from Peru after a military coup there, and tried wherever possible to give support to the non-Communist left in Latin America. The difficulty was that he found little effective support for this political approach within the State Department. Secretary Rusk was and is indifferent. The career foreign service tended to think Kennedy's ideas wildly optimistic and naïve. He appointed several non-career ambassadors such as John Bartlow Martin, the magazine writer, in the Dominican Republic and James Loeb, formerly executive secretary of Americans for Democratic Action, in Peru. He also for a time placed Richard Goodwin, one of his White House aides, in the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Latin America. But lacking the strong, enthusiastic support of Secretary Rusk and the top officers, he was not able to re-make the department's attitude in hemispheric affairs. Moreover, his time was taken up and his perspective sometimes distorted by the two Cuban crises.

President Juan Bosch was overthrown in the Dominican Republic two months before Kennedy was assassinated. That would have been the correct time to intervene. Bosch was the first constitutionally elected chief executive in his country in nearly forty years. He

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is also a democratic liberal. Intervention would have arrayed the U.S. on the side of liberalism and constitutionalism and against a military junta and a socially reactionary oligarchy. But the State Department was against intervention because it basically distrusted the whole idea of distinguishing between liberal civilians and military dictators in Latin America. Kennedy was ill-disposed to act because he personally disliked Bosch whose romantic attitudinizing and lack of political toughness struck him unfavorably. As a result, the U.S. did nothing.

The first area of the government which Lyndon Johnson took personal charge of was Latin American affairs. He immediately ousted Edward Martin as Assistant Secretary, Arturo Morales-Carrion as Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Teodoro Moscoso as head of the Alliance for Progress. Ambassadors were re-shuffled with almost all the posts going to "hard-nosed" career men. (The principal exception was Mr. Johnson's appointment of Ralph Dungan, a White House liaison man on Latin America under Kennedy, as ambassador to Chile.) The key figure has been Thomas Mann, a Texan and a career ambassador, who was first given both the Assistant Secretaryship and the control of the Alliance program and who has recently replaced Averell Harriman as Undersecretary. W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., who became ambassador to the Dominican Republic, is typical of the conservative career men who have come back into their own under President Johnson.

As a Texan, Mr. Johnson believes he has a special competence in Latin American affairs and a special understanding of Latin thinking. He believes Latin Americans respect strength and that the best way to get along with them is to show that the U.S. will stand for no nonsense. He has dropped any lingering effort to distinguish in our relations between military dictators and constitutionally-elected regimes. He is interested, first, in protecting U.S. military security against Communist encroachment or potential encirclement. He is interested, secondly, in protecting American economic interests but this is much less important in his mind than the political and security considerations. He is still for the Alliance for Progress in the sense of asking Congress for money to keep it going on a minimal basis, but he has stripped it of its political overtones and of its crusading mystique. It is just another aid program.

Hardheaded pragmatism, for all its considerable virtues, is not enough in politics. When the current crisis in the Dominican Republic erupted, Mr. Johnson had no larger political idea to refer to than simple anti-Communism. This is a valid enough notion and persuasive to most Americans, but it is not compelling to the millions of Latin Americans who live in poverty and who are blindly striking out for something better. If the U.S. is to act effectively in the hemisphere, it has to offer a competing vision of the good life to come. This is all the more important since it cannot offer, as can its Communist-Castroite rivals, the catharsis of bloodshed and violent change.

Donald Reid Cabral and his colleagues in the provisional government which the military installed in 1963 after overthrowing Bosch were intelligent and honorable representatives of the small wealthy class. They symbolized the kind of spurious stability that could not last. General Wessin y Wessin, the pious, stubborn reactionary, is typical of the Latin militarists who cannot see much difference between Communists and liberals. In short, there was nothing here to work with. Radical politics was the only alternative, but Undersecretary Mann and Ambassador Bennett are not the men to understand or play this kind of politics.

Styles of Intervention

When the crisis occurred, intervention was not the issue. The U.S. has such preponderant power in the Caribbean that any action it takes is a kind of intervention. The whole rationale of the Alliance for Progress presupposes massive though peaceful American intervention to obtain reforms. But there are degrees and styles of intervention. The U.S. could more usefully have intervened in this instance by endorsing Bosch's comeback and trying to structure the revolution along positive lines, outbidding and outmaneuvering the Communists. What it could not afford to do was to become identified with General Wessin and another old-fashioned junta. But that is the misfortune into which President Johnson has been led by his subordinates. The effort to extricate the U.S. from this predicament began almost immediately, but extrication is never easy. It is particularly difficult when the intervening power has no coherent political program and no effective local group with which to work.

It could be argued that it is impossible for an essentially conservative, wealthy country such as the U.S. to promote liberal social change in other countries. Such change naturally tends to run counter to our private business interests or to our political desire for stable, dependable allies. But if this argument is correct, then the Alliance for Progress and the liberal dream in Latin America are doomed. The troubles in the Dominican Republic would then be only a foreshadowing of catastrophes to come in much larger and more important Latin countries.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

Questions, Mr. President

"Except for a few bums, beatniks and Bolshies," according to New York's *Daily News*, President Johnson has the support of the nation in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam. The *Daily News* statement is at the lowest-common-denominator level, of course, but it is nonetheless typical of something dangerous that is happening in U.S. life—the naked glorification of the spirit of "My country, right or wrong."

By all reports President Johnson must bear a major part of the blame for this new turn of affairs, a disquieting development in which some are already confusing doubt with appeasement and in which differences of opinion may ultimately be equated with treason. The President is a thin-skinned man; much of his obsession with achieving a consensus seems based on the fact that he has never had much tolerance for opposition.

Will the public now support President Johnson's move in the Dominican Republic? I suspect it will—indeed, I suspect his action will be very popular indeed. After all the frustrations we have experienced with Cuba and Vietnam, there is something infinitely satisfying about sending in the Marines, and I realize that a case can be made for the President's actions. Nonetheless, I am convinced that we have to face some hard questions in this matter.

Our unilateral military intervention in the Dominican Republic was a flat violation of the OAS charter to which we subscribe. President Kennedy consulted with OAS members every step of the way in the Cuba missile crisis. Why could we not have done the same in this case? After the fact we succeeded only by the narrowest of margins in getting OAS sanction for a joint pacification effort; is it not significant that a country like Chile, with a vigorous Christian Democratic government, voted against us and that we won only by the support of the Latin American strong-man regimes?

The Bosch government represented the first democratically elected regime in the Dominican Republic in 32 years. When it was overthrown by a military junta, the United States made no move to intervene and after a short delay gave recognition and aid to that regime. Yet when efforts to oust that junta and to restore the constitutionally elected, non-Communist President were made, we intervene immediately. Why? In the beginning it was solemnly affirmed that we were in the Dominican Republic only to protect our nationals, yet one of the first things we did was to give help to the military junta opposing the pro-Bosch forces. Why?

This in turn raises the nagging question which now can never be satisfactorily answered: to what extent was the proclaimed Administration fear of a Communist take-over self-fulfilling? Only U.S. support kept the military junta fighting, yet according to early press reports it was precisely when the fighting became prolonged that the pro-Bosch moderates began to seek refuge in embassies and private homes. That there were fifty assorted Communists or crypto-Communists on the Dominican scene was not strange. The real question is: did our intervention policy push them into leadership positions by default?

Some of these points may seem inconsequential to North Americans. They will not strike Latin Americans the same way. Latin Americans remember all too well that our national policy in that area has long tended to support military dictatorships—indeed, the "benevolent" Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo had an eminent and bipartisan list of U.S. supporters. The United States simply cannot afford to become completely identified with strong-man regimes in Latin America. Yet that is a real and pressing danger.

To my mind, some of the most sensible things said on the Dominican crisis were voiced by Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Our opposition to Communist take-overs, he warned, "must not be construed as opposition to popular uprisings against injustice and oppression just because the targets for such popular uprisings say they are Communist-inspired or Communist-led." Communist infiltration can be a problem, he said, but "This matter must be kept in perspective, and we can deal with it best in association with our allies in Latin America. In any case, we know that the revolutionary forces include also many non-Communist democrats. Our objective must surely be not to drive the genuine democrats in the Dominican Republic into association with the Communists by blanket characterization and condemnation of their revolution."

So spoke Senator Kennedy, and I at least would feel more comfortable if I believed such views were being forcibly argued inside the Administration as well as outside. As it is, I fear we have set our feet on a slippery downhill road.

JAMES O'GARA

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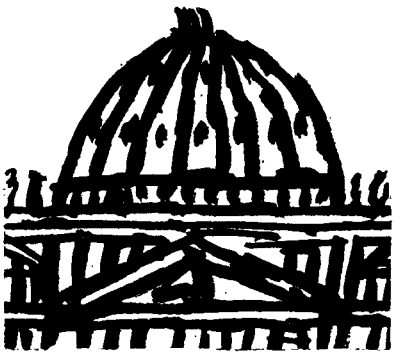

ELECTIONS IN THE CHURCH

Toward responsible involvement

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE

History buffs could sympathize with the *Christian Century* when, commenting on the papal appointments of January 27, it sadly noted that Pope Paul had dashed all its hopes for an international Curia; every council since Basle and Constance over 500 years ago has argued (with no appreciable effect on papal policy) that the Curia should be internationalized. The *Christian Century's* disappointment was not shared by the majority of diocesan newspapers, which apparently considered the new cardinals better copy than the bureaucratic changes which placed four Italian clerics into key curial positions. But both the back page appointments and the feature articles on the new cardinals offer some insight into Pope Paul's plans for the future administration of the church.

The Pontiff's reluctance to de-Italianize the Curia at a particularly opportune time (the secretaries of two congregations were being elevated out of office) indicates that his promise of September, 1963, to reorganize the Curia may need to be reinterpreted. The newly revised ritual of the elevation ceremonies with its pointed references to the cardinals as "collaborators and advisors in guiding and governing the holy Catholic Church," as well as Pope Paul's personal reference to "this senate of ours," make it rather evident that bishops and Curia officials personally appointed by the Pope will continue to exercise predominant influence in the post-conciliar Church.

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The *appointive* nature of the new dignitaries is especially significant at this time. Those familiar with the intricacies of church machinery have long realized that the success of any attempt to decentralize ecclesiastical authority in the post-conciliar world will ultimately depend on whether or not the various national and international conferences of bishops are granted an appropriate amount of autonomy. At present there are approximately forty such conferences which are entrusted by Rome with no binding authority but are permitted to exercise varying degrees of initiative. A few national conferences, e.g., those of the French and German hierarchies, have a tradition of deciding policy apart from any supervision by the apostolic delegate or nuncio to their respective countries. Other episcopal conferences operate under either the chairmanship of a bishop selected by the Vatican or the constant surveillance of an apostolic delegate, and these conferences understandably have less freedom. Some idea of the potential contribution of strong episcopal conferences to the future life of the Church may be gained from recalling that it was the French and German hierarchies which arrived at the Council in the best state of preparedness, and that it was these same hierarchies which made highly successful (and possibly council-saving) interventions in the early stages of Vatican II.

A very consequential aftermath of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was the power vested for the first time in the national conferences of bishops to make binding decisions in liturgical matters upon their

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own members by two-thirds vote. The concession was obviously made to avoid the liturgical anarchy within a nation which would probably have occurred under the customary system of permitting an individual bishop to make whatever exceptions he desires among the general norms adopted by his fellow bishops. But this grant of limited power does constitute a democratic advance in ecclesiastical structure by its removal of some decisionary power from the curial bureaucracy and by its establishment of the principle of majority rule on the part of those most competent to decide on matters requiring a national policy.

Problems of Selection

It is to be expected that the new cardinals and other bishops subsequently appointed to that office will exercise considerable influence within their respective national conferences. It is also to be expected that there will be no immediate pressure to extend the two-thirds majority rule to include non-liturgical matters; such a move would in effect reduce the power of the new dignitaries to the single vote level of any bishop from a smaller diocese within a nation. While the perpetuation of the appointive system undoubtedly gives added influence to talented bishops within the respective national hierarchies, it does place an increasingly difficult problem of selectivity upon the holder of the papal office. The frequent practice of having the cardinal (or senior cardinal) of a country assume the key position of chairman in his episcopal conference could give a few officials within the Vatican a remote but effective lever of control over national hierarchies when they inevitably expand in size beyond the capacity of a pope to make a completely independent selection of a nation's cardinal. Pope Paul's elaborate justification of his decision to raise the number of cardinals indicates that he is not unaware of the opposition to the increase in appointive dignitaries, e.g., the irritation of certain progressive Italian bishops over the tactics of the cardinal appointed by the Vatican to serve as chairman of the Italian episcopal conference, or the repeated complaints of bishops at the council regarding the misuse of the cardinals' privilege to speak first and without advance notice each day. One suspects that the majority of bishops in the various episcopal conferences would have preferred to exercise their own judgment in the selection of a representative to the new senate of the Church, and that collegiality would have been best served by a rotating membership within that body rather than a fixed system of lifetime dignitaries.

The papal reluctance to depart from the appointive system in the higher level of ecclesiastical office will undoubtedly influence the selection of future leaders at all levels. Another course of action could conceivably have been taken, viz., a papal plan for electing episcopal representatives to the Church's senate by the various conferences of bishops would have constituted a vital first step in ending the custom of filling ecclesiastical offices on the basis of personal selection. The Vatican's manifest tendency to perpetuate the appointive system may now have the unfortunate effect of inhibiting a needed discussion of what can be done at other levels to terminate the appointive system for those positions where it is no longer beneficial. Serious questions may be raised regarding the value of an indefinite continuation of the system in the post-conciliar world. For example, how open to an effective exchange of opposing views is a diocesan board of education whose members, clergy and laity, are all hand-picked by the bishop? Or how responsive to the expressed needs of the faithful is a diocesan official whose tenure in office depends upon his personal relationship with the bishop?

Benefits of Careful Selection

It is true that the appointive system has undeniable benefits. By careful selection a bishop can fill most of the major chancery positions with individuals whose decisions and attitudes will be comparable to his own. At the same time he can be confident that all incipient problems will either be handled in the traditional manner or else directed to his personal attention. And under a reasonably perceptive bishop the appointive offices in a diocese are bestowed upon individuals whose talents are recognized and respected by their peers.

But the appointive system of selecting church leaders has definite disadvantages, and these are bound to increase at an almost geometric rate during the coming decade. Many dioceses have already expanded both in size and in complexity of problems beyond the capacity of even the most perceptive bishop to exercise the necessary screening of potential selections prior to appointment. The majority of U.S. dioceses can be expected to follow the same pattern. Any reasonably informed member of the Church can appreciate the fact that the appointive system has frequently resulted in surrounding a bishop with minor bureaucrats who by reason of their limited background are incapable of collaborating with those of different views. There is good reason to suspect that the average bishop would

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prefer to fill certain diocesan offices on the basis of a selection by those clergy and laity professionally equipped to pass judgment on the merits of prospective candidates. It would also seem reasonable to suspect that some of the bishops entrusted with the responsibility of recommending an episcopal candidate for a vacant diocese would prefer to compare their judgment with that of clergy and laity competent to make similar recommendations.

Moderate Successes

One of the providential results of Vatican II is that its enforced absences have made it necessary for many bishops to initiate a wider delegation of their individual powers and functions. Equally fortunate is the fact that the implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the Decree on Ecumenism have somewhat broadened the range of individuals consulted by a bishop within his diocese. But the moderate success achieved up to now in implementing these decisions of the council will be considerably more difficult to attain with the Constitution on the Church, which may be the most important accomplishment of Vatican II. Several decades of study and limited experimentation had prepared a hardy corps of liturgical pioneers who from positions outside the customary power structure of the church were ready to step forward with specific suggestions for implementing the new liturgical constitution. The ecumenical movement had less advance ground work, but at least it could rely on the example of several outstanding leaders in Catholic, Protestant and Jewish circles. But one would look in vain for a single American diocese which had achieved anything even remotely resembling the shared power structure of the Diocese of Charleston under Bishop John England in the early 19th century (COMMONWEAL, Dec. 18, 1964). And how many parishes are there in the entire United States with experience in an *elective* (and thereby truly representative) parish council entrusted with actual responsibility within the parish?

The task of creating the representative structure needed to implement *De Ecclesia* seems especially formidable in view of the rather minimal interest in the project at the upper echelons of the church. Pope Paul's *Motu Proprio* of February 24 grants only a modicum of elective power to the cardinals; instead of the traditional practice of having the office of dean fall automatically upon the senior member of the six cardinals appointed by the Pope to the neighboring sees of Rome, it is now to be filled by one of the six cardinals chosen by themselves in an election (?) subject to papal approval. The naming of a number of the newly elevated cardinals to subordinate curial positions should be balanced by the realization that the key offices have not been internationalized and that the domestic saturation of the curial bureaucracy will hardly be corrected by adding a relatively small number of non-Italian personnel. There has been no effective effort to curb the imperial authority exercised by the apostolic delegate in certain countries, a practice which is rather difficult to justify in view of the extremely discreet role of the same official in nations such as France or Germany. Attempts to establish a democratically structured, decision-making apparatus within national hierarchies have traditionally run afoul of the reluctance of a few bishops to accept in binding form the opposing wisdom of the collective membership (cf. Los Angeles, U.S.A.).

Representative Communication

It would seem reasonable to predict that the Constitution on the Church with its vision of the people of God as a communal body perfecting itself by charismatic exchanges among all its members will remain in many areas a purely theoretical document until such time as the faithful by an elective process can bestow specific mandates to communicate upon those most qualified to reflect the collective wisdom of all. Although there are bishops who still send clarion calls to the laity to "communicate" with their pastors and hierarchy, past experience should make it fairly obvious by now that there is going to be no *representative* communication (how indicative of public opinion are a few letters to the bishop or individual confrontations with the pastor?) unless structures are created which facilitate true dialogue among *all* the faithful. In one sense it is unfortunate that the inspiring efforts of the clergy and laity involved in the forthcoming "Dialogue Conference" in the Archdiocese of St. Louis have not been paralleled by a sizeable number of similar proposals elsewhere. It is to be hoped that the St. Louis experiment of assembling a representative group of clergy and laity to discuss the best means of implementing Vatican II in that archdiocese will ultimately ignite a series of chain reactions leading to a representative restructuring of the Church in America. But one would feel more optimistic if a ground swell of creative thinking on the new structures were now evident at all levels of ecclesiastical life, rather than the present situation in which so much expectation is being placed on a relatively small amount of experimentation. The imperial and feudal habits acquired

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by the Church through the centuries have so deeply affected our ways of thinking that it will require the combined efforts of the most creative planners and the most skilled organizers to adapt the Church to a non-imperial and non-feudal environment.

The adaptation is long overdue and there is a relatively small amount of time in which it must be achieved. The fact that the present council could attain a fair degree of success under an organizational structure which almost ignored the representative and parliamentary knowledge obtained in modern times should not hide the realization that within a few years another council similar to Vatican II or any of the previous ecumenical councils will be a physical impossibility. Between Vatican I and Vatican II the hierarchy expanded from approximately 600 members to almost 3000; the consequences of a similar increase do not need to be analyzed. The obvious choice between a representative or an oligarchic structuring of the Church means that we may now have to ask ourselves a number of hard and somewhat unfamiliar questions.

10-Year Term for Popes?

For example, would the collegiate nature of the Church be best served by electing the pope for a single, non-repeatable term of ten years? The resignation of earlier popes (e.g., Celestine V, Gregory XII,) could be regarded as indicating that a lifetime occupancy is not essential to the structuring of the primacy. Would the nature of the Church as the Family of God in the world be more manifest if the bishops of the world assembled every ten years on a different continent in a key city, (e.g., Bombay, Lima, etc.), possibly on the occasion of a papal election in which all the bishops and a representative sampling of the laity participated? The needed reduction of imperial pageantry as well as the substitution of more fraternal and understandable symbols of office could be fringe benefits of an impressive demonstration to the world that Christianity transcends its Mediterranean origin. And what would prevent the Church from now returning to the faithful their ancient privilege of electing the bishop?

After years of isolation on the periphery of the decision-making apparatus of the Church, it will be rather difficult for many of the laity to realize that the supposedly self-sufficient mechanisms of ecclesiastical organizations are now in need of their assistance. But if *De Ecclesia's* ideal of close collaboration between pastors and laity is to be regarded seriously, it should be evident that adroit parishioners are needed to propose workable plans for a representative direction of parish affairs. On the diocesan level, the managerial and administrative abilities of those skilled in modern organizational techniques can be used to co-ordinate the united efforts of thousands. Of special value to the Church will be the experience of those familiar with the techniques of international associations and conferences. Any hesitancy to contribute proposals for the needed restructuring in the absence of a specific invitation to do so should be countered by the realization that it was a group of thirty individuals in the Archdiocese of St. Louis who exercised an obviously imitatable form of initiative.

In the period immediately following Vatican II the structures of the church will be in a fluid state which has not been experienced for several centuries and which may not be re-experienced for several centuries to come. It is rather painful to visualize the future consequences of a failure at this time in formulating and establishing organizational modes capable of implementing the new realization of what the church should be. A successful restructuring now would mean that the People of God would enter the third millenium with a new impetus towards responsible involvement in the world acquired as a result of their responsible involvement in the Body of Christ.

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JOHN L'HEUREUX

THE QUINCE

Quinces are pitiless. And she
is caught, you say, like pale fruit,
hard, unripened, sun starved; cold
her short hour like a winter moon.

But when the whimsy is upon her
watch how the moonlight silvers
quinces, makes all the green leaves
glass and winters them with knowledge.

O she is rare: pain has made her hard
as any quince; long nights watched
by the nerves' flame temper acid
to a wry smile merely; spirit glows

in her like wonder. I saw in vision
once a Lady riding alone a rock path
to Elizabeth and in her hand a quince,
hard, glowing like a pallid winter moon.

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Role of the professional

MOBILIZING THE POOR

FRANK RIESSMAN

What promised to be one of the most brilliant social engineering experiments of our time—Mobilization For Youth—the thirteen-million dollar-project in New York City that hoped to hit juvenile delinquency from all sides, suddenly came under attack last summer from both Republicans and Democrats. After a spectacular start, with support from a great variety of sources and praise in the nation's press and television, MFY was confronted, seemingly overnight, by a many-sided denunciation, spearheaded by a McCarthyist witch hunt.

For the past 15 years, witch hunts have been the favorite smokescreen for undermining various forward-looking policies and programs, so it was no surprise that MFY was condemned on the alleged grounds that a number of leftists—most of them admittedly long gone from the "movement"—had invaded the ranks of the agency. Before long, however, it became clear that what was really disturbing the power structure, was MFY's use of the social protest form of community action. Here the rent strikes, school boycotts, Marches on Washington head the list; and though MFY's participation in these militant activities was tolerated by governmental authorities for a while, the agency ultimately came under severe criticism for adopting this activistic orientation which was admittedly directed at a redistribution of power in the community.

It is extremely important to try to understand what went wrong, because Mobilization For Youth provides a potential model for President Johnson's entire anti-poverty program. Unless we can determine what elements in the MFY experiment are worthwhile, to be saved, and what elements are to be rejected, it will not be easy to promote a nationwide war on poverty built around community action programs as outlined in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The basic question raised by the MFY issue is whether it is possible for a government-supported agency to conduct an intensive, militant social action campaign. Is it likely that the state would long support an agency that was actively stimulating campaigns directed at deep critical attacks of governmental institutions or practices? Can a government pay for the encouragement of rent strikes, school boycotts, Marches on Washington and the like?

I went to work at Mobilization For Youth in July 1962, just as it was getting under way. Like many others on the staff, I had great expectations and high morale. We were all enthusiastic and very much interested in working with the poor and encouraging the poor to help themselves. My research interests were also concerned with this problem and this is why I was most anxious to become fully involved in the project.

The Mobilization staff was very exciting. Included among its three hundred employees were over 50 "nonprofessional" people from the neighborhood. They were called indigenous personnel. They lived in the neighborhood, were of the same background as the people in the neighborhood—some of them were recently on relief rolls—and they truly brought the neighborhood into the MFY headquarters.

These nonprofessional people were conceived of as bridge people, able to interpret community life and values to the professionals as well as to serve as interpreters of the professionals to the poor. Employed as visiting homemakers, parent education aides, group leaders, community organizers, coffee-shop managers, case aides and the like, they remain one of the most important contributions of the MFY program.

In the early days of MFY, there was practically no social action. Not even mild forms of action, such as tenant organizations or parent meetings, were encouraged. The main emphasis in the beginning was on opening the store-front centers that received people with all kinds of problems from welfare to housing, to employment, to family and personal problems. Thousands of people flocked to these neighborhood service centers and the social workers quickly built up huge caseloads.

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In those days, social action of any kind was not a very central feature of the program. In fact, less than forty pages are devoted to it in the 600-page MFY document, "A Proposal For the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunity." Not only was there little talk about social action, but the suggested forms of action were quite different from the ones that actually evolved later on. The original proposal talks about organizing the unaffiliated, the inarticulate, the newcomers to the community. The modes of social action were somewhat vague and broad and a long way from Marches on Washington, rent strikes, school boycotts, Negro Action Groups– dubbed "NAG" –militant public relations with a vengeance.

Work Was Slow

During this stage, community organizers were dispatched to talk to people standing on street corners, in the bars and in front of buildings. These organizers tried to interest people in some kind of self-help group activity. The work was slow and immediate results were not forthcoming. In one case, an organizer collected some twenty-five people that he found pretty much standing around in the community. They came together for a meal to be served at the meeting which was planned to discuss their problems and some ways of meeting these problems. People came late, but they did show up. They ate the food, they talked, and then they discovered something–that a group among them were drug addicts and that the non-addicts did not feel like getting together with the addicts to organize about anything. This was natural enough and it was part of the learning involved in organizing the unaffiliated. Not all of these attempts at community organization and social action were unsuccessful, however.

In its first year, MFY was quite effective in bringing together thirty-nine Puerto Rican Pentecostal ministers who had never organized together before. These ministers, stimulated by a MFY community organizer, started to think about ways of improving the conditions of the community. They wanted to help their parishioners. It was just about this time that MFY became involved in the March on Washington. The ministers were reluctant to participate in this March, and did so only out of loyalty to MFY and after much persuasion. Shortly afterward, they withdrew from MFY; as one of them very aptly put it, "Your organization is just getting too political for us." This group could not be appealed to by such direct political means as the March. They were not interested in this type of social action.

In order to highlight the transformation in MFY, it may be useful to examine the example of the Parent Education Aide program, which was most successful until it adopted a highly militant stance. This project consisted initially of eight non-professionals, people from the neighborhood, and its director, a professional social worker. The original purpose of the project was to improve communication between parents (especially newcomers to the area) and the schools. The neighborhood workers began by visiting the parents and working with them on their everyday problems of living–health problems, welfare problems, housing problems, slowly bringing them into various forms of self-help group activity. The idea was to bring them into the Parent Associations and have their voices heard in these more formal organizations.

I worked with these nonprofessional Parent Aides from the beginning, training them in ways of working in the community, canvassing parents, relating to school officials. Much of the training was done in the form of role playing, that is, doing or acting out various problem situations, like talking to a school principal or a housing official or visiting a home.

In the first stages of my relationship to the Parent Aides, they were quite suspicious of me–a social scientist, a professional, someone who didn't live in the neighborhood and talked fancy. I remember one of the first role-playing episodes where I played the part of a parent who was being visited by one of the Aides. The Aide started out by telling me that I ought to get more involved in the school! Why didn't I motivate my son to do better work? In general she spouted what she conceived to be the school line. I responded in my role as the parent, with considerable annoyance and anger.

"What are you high-hatting for me?" I said. "I don't go to the school because the school doesn't give a damn for me. Everytime I go near them they give me the cold shoulder or tell me all the things that are wrong with Jimmy. I never heard a nice thing yet about my boy down at that place. They don't speak

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my language," I said. "And I went to one of your parent meetings once. I wouldn't call it a parent meeting—I'd call it a teacher meeting, with the teachers telling me what I was supposed to do."

Well, after that little role-playing episode and our discussion of it, the Parent Aides weren't so suspicious of me anymore. They saw that I didn't want them to simply bring the school line to the parents, but that as a representative of MFY, I was concerned with bringing the parent line to the school and if necessary could talk their language and understand their needs and anger.

From then on training was smooth sailing. The Aides started bringing problems about the involvement of the parents in the school to our training sessions. They said that the parents were afraid of the meetings, felt left out, not listened to, controlled, manipulated and frankly bored. So we decided to see what we could do about it. We set up a make-believe meeting with all the problems the Aides reported. We set up a leader who wouldn't listen, who talked down to the parents. Long minutes and reports were read in thoroughly dull fashion. And then we decided to role play practice ways of breaking through the formality of these meetings.

At first, we practiced fairly easy situations in which the leader, or chairman, was willing to listen to the Spanish-speaking people from the community, tried to understand but just didn't succeed. Gradually, we built these mock meetings into the most formal, distant, difficult barriers, in which leaders were almost downright antagonistic and cold to the participants.

Talking to Mr. Leader

We practiced ways of talking to Mr. Leader. We practiced ways of having parents chime in and support each other at meetings. We practiced all the ways of negotiating and arguing to win one's point. We practiced on-the-spot caucusing. Before bringing most of the parents to the larger PA meetings, the Parent Aides decided on their own to hold small, informal gatherings around coffee in the parents' homes. Three to six parents were invited to these gatherings and informal role-playing was employed to actually teach them methods of breaking through the Parent Association bureaucracy. Parliamentary procedure and meeting tactics were also taught in this fashion and later the parents began to participate and have their voices heard at regular Parent Association meetings.

The eight Parent Aides did many other things as well. Within less than a year, working in five junior high schools and three elementary schools, the Aides won the respect and cooperation of guidance officers, teachers and principals alike. It was not unusual for a school staff person who had not seen the Aide for a day or so to remark, "Where have you been, we were expecting you."

One of the Aides, who is Chinese, played an important role in assisting school personnel in interpreting cultural factors in Chinese families relevant to the school performance of their children. Another Aide helped significantly in the revision and democratization of a Parent Association constitution. She also mediated in the Parent Association between an "old regime" and a newer, predominantly Puerto Rican group. Various group activities were organized as well: sewing groups, doughnut making, day-tours to the U.N. and the Bronx Zoo.

When MFY turned to more activistic, protest forms of social action, the Aides were encouraged to orient their activity in this direction. They recruited parents for the March on Washington and they helped form the more militant MOM (Mobilization of Mothers) that shortly afterward antagonized twenty-six principals on the Lower East Side (who then banded together to attack all MFY activity). Most of the people organized by the Parent Aides did not respond favorably to MOM and it is an open question whether MFY itself should have played the key role it did here.

But something much more important happened to these eight neighborhood workers. In the process of turning the non-professional group in an activist direction, MFY decided to add two additional professionals, both of whom were very articulate, outspoken and experienced. It was not long before the indigenous, non-professional Aides were overwhelmed and became far more passive at staff meetings. I recall, not long ago, listening to a tape of one of these meetings and I asked the Director of the program what was wrong. I didn't hear any of the voices of people I knew. "Had they left the organization?" "No," she replied, "they're just quieter." All I could hear were two or three voices . . . the two new organizers and one or two of my old friends occasionally chiming in.

It can easily be seen that a remarkable transformation took place in the policy and program of MFY from its inception to its present stage. Initially, MFY had a most undeveloped and mild social action program, while eventually it adopted or imitated some of the most militant forms of social action (e.g., rent strikes, school boycotts, etc.) presently available in our society. How did this transformation take place?

Before turning to the causes of this change it is

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necessary to state clearly what was not a cause. The activistic direction of MFY was in no way related to alleged leftism in the organization. The basic policy was decided by the principal leaders of MFY—the triumvirate of George Brager, Richard Cloward and James McCarthy—none of whom has ever been accused of leftist affiliations in the present or the past. Moreover, any current leftists at MFY are said to be in the lowest echelons of the organizations (secretarial staff, etc.) and are completely uninfluential in policy decisions.

I think there are two factors to keep in mind in understanding the transformation of policy. One is related to the fact that the various programs at MFY, such as the educational program and the Neighborhood Service Centers, were not achieving sweeping results. Nor were the milder forms of social action leading to rapid changes in the power structure. The slowness of results have to be seen in relation to the second, and perhaps more decisive factor. This was the onrush of the Civil Rights movement in its early days in 1963. This movement was capturing the imagination and participation of masses of people throughout the country. Marches, pickets, boycotts were the order of the day. Moreover, the effectiveness of this citizen-led movement was not determined by large financial support. MFY with its thirteen-million-dollar funding seemed to be able to do far less than the much poorer Civil Rights movement. Suddenly, the yardstick of the Civil Rights movement's success was used to evaluate MFY social action, and against this yardstick, MFY fared badly.

It was only natural to ask, "If these groups with little funds and professional expertise could achieve so much, why is it that we are achieving so little so slowly?" The next obvious step was to consider taking advantage of these citizen forms of organization and then ape them on the Lower East Side. And so, MFY participated in the March on Washington and shortly afterward, stimulated rent strikes in the area.

Loss of Support

Actually, many of these forms of organization such as rent strikes were spreading contagiously to other cities in the United States—to over twenty-five of them in fact—without the benefit of government funded agencies. MFY, however, decided on a policy of adding to its social action repertoire through emulating these forms of action. In doing so, of course, it not only ran the risk, which ultimately became an actuality, of encountering serious difficulty with the major power forces in the society, but it also risked the loss of support from the less militant, less intensively involved individuals with whom it had begun some effective work. Many of these people became quite fearful of the militant posture MFY was adopting. This was particularly true among the various church groups and among sections of the Puerto Rican population who were less intensively involved in the Civil Rights Movement. (The Puerto Rican group, incidentally, is the major ethnic group on the Lower East Side, comprising over 40% of the population in the area.)

My own attitudes toward social action in a professional social agency were quite different from the program that was adopted. In my citizen's role, I approve of rent strikes, Marches on Washington, boycotts, and the like, but I think it is doubtful that a professional social worker can practice these forms of social action in his professional role, particularly if he is being supported by public funds.

Professionals wishing to participate and assist in protest social action probably would do better to do this in their citizen roles as direct participants. Of course here, too, they may run into difficulty, vis-a-vis their professional role, but this is less likely than if it were their actual professional role. In their professional capacities they can operate as a "third force," sympathetic to changes demanded by mass movements, concerned with changes that would be of service to the poor and other deprived groups, but with a main orientation directed toward effecting the decision makers of the society.

For professionals, in their professional roles, to try to do more by directly engendering social action, attractive as it may seem, is doomed to failure. This, the demonstration project, Mobilization For Youth, has truly demonstrated.

What then can social agencies, social workers and social scientists do in their professional capacity? It seems to me that they can do a great deal, but they cannot achieve what citizens' groups, such as the Civil Rights Movement, the rent strike movement, and other

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large social movements and political parties can achieve. If this type of yardstick is used, impatience will result, the organization will become too ambitious and will shortly get into serious difficulty.

MFY developed new welfare practices that were very important. When youngsters in the work programs who were receiving money found that their parents' welfare checks were to be reduced because of the children's new earnings, there was much bad feeling. MFY managed to convince the Welfare Department to change this practice, at least for the youngsters in this experimental program. This provided a powerful and important precedent, and MFY is continuing effort toward producing policy changes through top-level negotiation with regard to welfare practices. Moreover, MFY's legal unit is attempting to test aspects of New York State's Welfare Abuses Law and its administration. It would seem that continued efforts in the direction of discovery and utilization of various ways of producing change, including the milder more indirect forms of social action, would enable MFY and MFY-like organizations to make an important contribution toward achieving institutional change.

MFY has also played an important role in developing new curriculum materials for disadvantaged children, homework helper programs to aid these children, teacher training programs to provide teachers with the skills and knowledge to work better with the disadvantaged. The work training programs are also valuable and can be of great assistance in aiding youngsters to prepare for jobs. The Neighborhood Service Centers can through the development of group activity add greatly to the group life of the community.

It is most unfortunate that the McCarthyist red-baiting attack beclouds many of the issues I have discussed. Actually, it is a great tribute to our time that MFY has probably won more friends than it has lost as a result of the witch hunt directed against it. But the attack on its militant social action policies would have occurred independently of the red-baiting onslaught.

An agency like MFY cannot emulate or duplicate a political movement and it would be folly to attempt to do so. But community action programs can provide enormous assistance for the poor, with the poor and by the poor. The employment of large numbers of neighborhood workers in these organizations is likely to change the character of the social agencies involved. MFY has led the way in demonstrating the potential of these non-professionals—it has also warned us that a social agency by faulty programming and impatience can destroy this potential.

HETEROSEXUAL BACKLASH

THE STAGE

The present position of homosexual drama is unsatisfactory to just about everybody. The playwrights concerned are obliged, for obvious reasons, to disguise their themes and to present them, by implication, at least, as studies in "straight" behavior. The critics for equally obvious reasons are prevented from pointing this out (few of us would want to play the Marquis of Queensberry in a revival), at least in so many words. The result is a good deal of hissing venom on both sides: the critic taunting the playwright to declare himself—although to do so would clearly be suicidal; the playwright resenting, not unreasonably, the vindictive, and sometimes feline, reviews that the critic's frustration works itself off in.

I should like therefore to suggest a working hypothesis that might help toward breaking this log-jam: namely, that we have now had enough of these crypto-homosexual plays for homosexuality to have become part of the prevailing style, and that it is now possible to discuss a theater of homosexual sensibility without imputing homosexuality to any given playwright. The middle- (or writing) class traditionally gets much of its experience at second-hand and it is not uncommon for young playwrights to think they are writing about life when they are only writing about other plays. If enough of these models are homosexual, the new playwright may begin to read reality in a homosexual light (especially if the people he sees all the time are also based on theatrical models).

This theory is not as disingenuous as it sounds. Everyone has known persons with effeminate mannerisms picked up who knows where: I am merely suggesting that the same thing can happen to a play or a playwright—or even a whole theater. To put it algebraically: let *a* be a heterosexual who has imitated *b*, a homosexual who has been playing the part of *c*, a heterosexual etc.; playwright *d* then comes along and writes about *a* as if *a* was an original, a real husband or wife say, and the job is done. Homosexuality has been absorbed with barely a trace; certain homosexual mannerisms have become part of the reigning style (as they do at some English boarding-schools, where you may find the captain of rugby football flopping around like Oscar Wilde) with no one quite sure how it got there.

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Two recent plays of homosexual sensibility might be considered half-way houses in the process. In "Do Not Pass Go," (closed at the *Cherry Lane Theater*) the homosexuality is not spelled out; in "Things That Go Bump in the Night," (hanging by a thread at the *Royale*) it is: but in neither case is it shown quite for what it is—namely the mainspring of all the action and, so to say, the flavoring matter in the dialogue. If the critic is obliged by convention to ignore this aspect, he cannot review what he is seeing on its own merits and he is left with two very weak and unconvincing plays on his hands.

Both plays are built around a sort of ritual torturing of a non-*illuminatus*. In "Do Not Pass Go," the homosexual lead spends the whole play bullying a helpless old man in the basement of a supermarket. To a heterosexual spectator, this will seem not only brutal but pointless: not because heterosexuals are incapable of sadism—far from it—but because they wouldn't do it in quite this way: with shrill teasing and campy jokes about Shirley Temple, and all the now-I-love-you-now-I-don't tortures of the nursery.

Because of the furtive nature of the subject, a good deal of time and ingenuity can be wasted in explicating plays of this kind. We might say for instance that this one is a story of youth versus old age. The young man is alternately bored and amused with the old one. He baffles him with arcane jive talk, then wearies of this, and fakes a little affection, which leads in turn to more cruelty. And old age accepts it all, because old age has no choice. Any attention is better than none. And the only escape is the outer darkness of some unspeakable old-people's home.

This interpretation is probably true up to a point. But it also leaves out the whole flavor of the play. The young man is not specifically youthful, and his attack on the old man contains a number of elements that cannot be explained in terms of a youth-age rumble. At one point, he cons his old buddy into denouncing women, thus implicating him in homosexuality: and this coincides interestingly with "Things That Go Bump," which is not about old age at all but about atom bomb shelters. There too, the square character is forced to admit to latent homosexuality and to be humiliated by the discovery. The inference seems to be that the square world is homosexual without the courage to admit it or to live out its implications: but this doctrine has to be quickly sublimated into other more acceptable themes. The playwright of the homosexual must always appear to be writing about something else.

There are other interesting resemblances between the two plays. In each case the victim is exhorted to keep his sense of humor, to be amusing. In each case, a loud-speaker is used to bring in tyrannous interventions from "out there." All of which added to my feeling that I was watching the same essential confrontation, the same basic play even, though in vastly different trappings. In each case, the real story goes something like this: the homosexual has got the square where he wants him—in the kind of power position in which he must so often have been a victim himself. In real life, the square would reach for his hat before things got this far out of hand, so conditions have had to be arranged to prevent this: in the first case, the old man's advanced decrepitude keeps him tethered; in the second, the victim has stumbled into a bomb shelter which is surrounded by electric wire, but to make assurance doubly sure he is given an incredibly helpless and dependent character, which is completely in thrall to his homosexual hosts.

Having set the stage for himself, the homosexual protagonist proceeds to work terrible vengeance on the square world; in each case the treatment ends in death, and in the rather smug survival of the executioner. The viciousness of this fantasy, which looks like meaningless overkill to the heterosexual, testifies to the depth of the homosexuals' grievances. The square victim is treated like a prisoner of war, who must pay personally for every atrocity real or imagined that his side has ever committed. (Readers probably don't need to be reminded that the above also has many points of resemblance to the plot of "Tiny Alice.")

Unfortunately, plays of homosexual sensibility often fail to make the right connection with heterosexual audiences, even when the plays present themselves in heterosexual guise. Some of the basic ingredients have lost their bite: for instance, the obsessions with mother-son relationships, and father-son relationships, which are a sort of signature, like the appearance of Hitchcock in his own movies; or the constant agitation over "the enemy out there"—an enemy which has to be left vague and nameless in the hope that it will ring some kind of bell with the spectator. The big scenes in these plays are often puzzlingly weak because one cannot feel the necessary involvement in the psychological situation. There is for instance a sort of wicked-fairy pageant in "Things That Go Bump" which is obviously meant to be impressive, and which brings the square victim to his all-too-available knees, but which (and I don't mean to sound too hearty about this) struck me as being one of the funniest moments of the season.

"Things That Go Bump" is a bad play, and several other portentous scenes had the audience in stitches, so it isn't fair to judge the whole genre by that. But "Do

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What do you get
if you maintain a "B" average,
serve well on two committees a year,
speak another language with deftness,
show a decided flair for thinking
and read like a fiend?

(You get to stay.)

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Not Pass Go" is quite a good play and it shares much of the same ineffectiveness. The necessity to conceal homosexual intentions has driven several playwrights into surrealism and absurdity, so that it isn't always easy to trace one's discontent: but whenever one does catch a thread, it seems to be a trivial one, and one begins to wonder whether one is getting the right message. In spite of a remarkably fine performance by Robert Blossom (Mr. Blossom knows how an old man's joints work), and some fairly good jokes, "Do Not Pass Go" has a consistent feebleness about it that is hard to explain in other terms.

"Things That Go Bump" is interesting in one respect at least. It is probably the most overtly homosexual play yet seen on Broadway and there are several things to be said in favor of that. It is obviously better to have this sensibility out in the open where we can see it—better for the plays, which can concentrate on telling truths about homosexuals rather than half-truths and falsehoods about heterosexuals; and better for the public, which can decide just how many of such plays it wants to see. As things stand, I believe that a mild heterosexual backlash is beginning to form (this is not meant as a clumsy threat, but as a simple observation) in protest at so steady a diet of transvestism. If this continues, the whole theater will be the victim. Therefore, as I say, there may be something to be said for having the homosexual sensibility asserted openly in one play rather than sneaked into twenty. It would, if nothing else, leave a cleaner smell. WILFRID SHEED

WHOM

THE SCREEN

The most striking thing about "Masquerade" is the like-a-cigarette-should slogan it's using in its advertising campaign: "Who is doing what to who?" Other than that, this British film with an international cast is a moderately amusing parody on the current spy-chase-crime thrillers. Since I'm not particularly a devotee of "Topkapi," the James Bond series, or other items in this cycle that has by now become a burlesque of itself, I find it rather hard to work up any enthusiasm over "Masquerade," which is at least as good as the films it is kidding. Among its assets are Michael Relph's handsome production with lovely color photography of Spain and other places, Basil Dearden's fast-paced direction, and a good cast headed by Jack Hawkins as a British agent, Cliff Robertson as his former wartime pal hired for this special job, and Marisa Mell, a stunning Viennese *femme* who's supposed to be *fatale* for Cliff. The plot, however, which stems from Victor Canning's *Castle Minerva* about the kidnapping of a Middle East princeling, is so complicated and fantastic that it can hardly be followed or believed. But that's part of the scheme in these modern spy-and-chase thrillers: they're a joke, son, and plot doesn't matter. So when most of the characters in "Masquerade" turn out to be masquerading as someone else, it's supposed to be part of the fun.

Also made with an international cast in exotic settings and also dealing with a crook who discovers he has a couple of scruples is "Mister Moses," in which Robert Mitchum plays Joe Moses, a circus performer turned diamond smuggler and con man. Battered and beaten, he lands in an African village where his wounds are tended by a missioner's daughter (Carroll Baker); and when he displays some of his more spectacular circus tricks, the village chief (Orlando Martins) and natives insist he's *the* Mr. Moses who will lead them and their animals out of this soon-to-be-flooded village and into the Promised Land. Cynical Joe Moses is interested only in going his own way and hustling a few dollars on the road; but the missioner's daughter, discovering his nefarious activities, blackmails Joe into helping the natives. The script, based on a Max Catto novel, is quite amusing; and director Ronald Neame, who handles his very large, almost unwieldy cast well, has also guided Mitchum in one of the best performances of his career. Most of Frank Ross' production was shot in Africa, and the color photography of the long trek is excellent. In spite of the lively adventure story, characterization is stressed more than excitement. Involved in both are the interesting set-to's between Mr. Moses and Ube (Raymond St. Jacques), an ambitious native who had a taste of white man's civilization and, not caring for what he saw in Harlem and other places,

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came back to milk the natives. Moses sees right through him.

By now, admirers of foreign movies, critics as well as paying customers, have come to the realization that not all imports, in spite of their glitter, are pure gold. A couple of recent arrivals, though nicely cast, reaffirm the point. The French "Male Hunt," for all its fancy New Wave direction by Edouard Molinaro of an attractive cast, is annoyingly slight and superficial. Its theme (better expressed by its French title: "*La Chasse a l'Homme*") is the old dodo about women being the pursuers in the game of marriage; and for men it is a game in which one avoids the altar. The five writers who turned out this screenplay had so little new to say on the subject that they decided instead of sticking to one hero-victim, they would tell the stories of three men being chased by a bevy of girls. So three tales are intermingled as Jean-Paul Belmondo, Jean-Claude Brialy, and Claude Rich are kept on the run in Paris and several photogenic Greek islands. Even more photogenic are the girls involved: Catherine Deneuve, Francoise Dorleac, Marie Dubois, Marie Laforet, and, though no longer a girl, the still very seductive Micheline Presle. To brighten his thin story, director Molinaro uses tricky camera angles and fancy shots, but neither imaginative cinema nor pretty girls can hide the fact that "Male Hunt" is a film with practically nothing to say.

Surprisingly empty and old-fashioned is an import from Italy, "*Il Successo*," in which Vittorio Gassman, as a heel determined to rise to the top, is the whole show. The top for this non-hero means just having lots of money; and most of this lengthy film describes his hard work and chicanery to get it. This theme can get quite tiresome, and since the screenplay has little else to say, director Mauro Morassi should have moved a little faster and lopped off considerable running time from the present 103 minutes. Vittorio Gassman gives a fine performance as the money-minded guy who gives little thought about whom he hurts on the way up. Jean-Louis Trintignant is touching as his sensitive "best pal." But Anouk Aimee is absolutely first-rate as Gassman's wife, the woman who loves him and continues to love him, but can't believe what is happening. What I couldn't believe is that these two people would have stuck to Gassman as long as they do, or perhaps even have been attracted to him in the first place. What is hardest to believe, however, is that the picture's whole point is its moral at the end: money does not buy happiness.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

The war ladder with forty-four rungs

On Escalation: Metaphors and Scenarios

HERMAN KAHN

Praeger, $6.95

EMILE CAPOUYA

This book is addressed to the "analytic community," that is, to those mathematicians, physicists, logicians, and politicians who have come to take seriously the aphorism that war is too important a matter to leave to the generals, and who are presenting their own claim to direct war policy for the nation.

Their opportunity to do so arises, of course, from the circumstance that the strategic effects of atomic weapons—physical, psychological, and moral—are as yet nearly unpredictable, so that the professional equipment the generals have to offer is mostly irrelevant. On the tactical level, the appropriate atomic weapons are fairly comparable to conventional ones; here the generals are on familiar ground, and we find, accordingly, that the analytic community does not much concern itself with tactics but concentrates rather upon grand strategy. And indeed, in a sphere where all is darkness, why should the people who design the weapons not have as much to say as anyone else about their supposititious effects?

Since *On Escalation* is a professional communication, only a member of the analytic community could do it justice. In brief, it reduces both warfare and international politics to communications theory, or more accurately, to a theory of gesture and response, in terms of which the only gestures considered are "escalation" and "de-escalation"—that is, the deliberate heightening or diminishing of aggressive actions. In keeping with the theory, the author proposes a scale for measuring aggressive actions, an "Escalation Ladder" of forty-four rungs, ranging from "1. Ostensible Crisis" to "44. Spasm or Insensate War." The ladder is intended to serve as a theoretical *vade mecum* for strategists, so that at any moment they can have a fair idea of just how serious a signal they are making with their "10. Provocative Breaking off of Diplomatic

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Relations," or their "15. Barely Nuclear War."

The author warns that the ladder represents a scale of physical capabilities and moral and psychological preferences that is peculiar to the United States. Russian capabilities and preferences must be represented by a different scale, and the probability of mutual misinterpretation of signals is of a high order. And when we consider that capabilities and preferences alike must in the real world change, necessarily and mostly unpredictably, at every step of the ladder, the system of communication becomes more problematic still.

In fact, as a practical tool, the escalation ladder and the strategic metaphors and scenarios are poppycock. That does not mean, of course, that the author's reasoning is not scrupulous and the arguments advanced in the manual not ingenious and subtle. They are all those things, to the point where their real merit can only be appreciated by the professional group to which they are addressed. They can also serve to get us killed as well as the next set of abstractions. But for their avowed purpose they are ridiculous.

Nevertheless, the current declarations of President Johnson and Mr. MacNamara are full of terms borrowed from the analytic community. At this writing, they have been signalling anxiously to the North Vietnamese for some months, and the report is that they are nonplussed by the response. According to the ladder, they may now escalate or de-escalate. What they cannot do is give up the games-theory approach to life and death—the ladder makes no provision for that. The significance of Mr. Kahn's poppycock (commissioned, in this instance, by the Martin Company) is that it is what the United States is now using in place of political policy.

The morality of games theory is the Eichmann morality: I just work here. Lest this appear to be a gratuitous insult directed at Mr. Kahn and his colleagues in the analytic community, let me say at once that my target is the modern professionalism by which I myself and everyone I know is as completely mastered as Mr. Kahn. All of us do the unthinkable in our professional lives because the profession is its own value-system. It is our misfortune that Mr. Kahn's professional concern is to express the capabilities of those new machines, the atomic weapons. The machines themselves dictate the only morality he is professionally called upon to recognize. Thanks to him, and to the analytic community generally, that writ now runs everywhere.

The Illusion of Eve

SIDNEY CORNELIA CALLAHAN

Sheed and Ward, $4.50

ROSEMARY LAUER

In a pre-publication interview, Sidney Callahan (Mrs. Daniel Callahan) expressed a fear that this book on "the woman problem" would displease both unreconstructed traditionalists and avant-garde feminists. And so it will. However, inasmuch as *The Illusion of Eve* is addressed primarily to a Catholic audience and the sole avant-garde feminists Mrs. Callahan has been able to produce are no more Catholic than Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan, the only large segment of readers who will be displeased are the traditionalists —or the "eternal feminine" people, as the author calls them.

Their displeasure, however, is apt to be sufficiently acute that their cries of pain will drown out anything "feminists" might want to say. For after the author has removed from the feminine "image" the disguises provided by bad scriptural exegesis and worse cultural myths, the eternal feminine has scarcely a rag of veil left to conceal the fact that she is really nothing but a plain, ordinary, everyday human being. This unveiling of the image, nonetheless, is done with such a dispassionate objectivity that if *anyone* can get the van Kersbergens and the von le Forts to see through the layers of romantic nonsense that obscure the reality, Sidney Callahan ought to be able to do it. Certainly she does not run the same risk of alienating her readers that Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan run by their passionate over-reacting to what they see as a dirty trick played on women by nature and/or men.

Mrs. Callahan does not burn with any reformer's zeal to remake all women according to some new feminine —or anti-feminine—pattern. "The essence of my case," she writes, "is adherence to a balanced ideal which gives freedom to different women to do different things . . . for different women maturity can mean different things." "My whole argument . . . has been just this: that the Christian freedom of women is not limited because of their sex. The feminine sex has no ready-made vocation."

And when it comes to the acid test of whether one has really divested oneself of the inhibiting effects of the eternal feminine veil, the author passes with points to spare. "In truth," she says, "since there seems to be no intrinsic or valid theological reason against it, there will, I suspect, be women priests eventually. Even more shocking to present-day orthodox sensibilities would be married women priests, for while some can easily accept the idea of married priests, and some can champion priesthood for women, few can accept both."

Obviously Sidney Callahan does not share the horror of a *National Catholic Reporter* letter-writer who was willing to accept women priests and married priests, but exclaimed in shocked revulsion, "But *pregnant* priests?!" I say "obviously" because the author of *The Illusion of Eve* writes so sanely and so appreciatively about sex that she would not see the sacredness of the priesthood as threatened by a conjugal relationship. And she is realistic enough to know that ordinarily in women sex and pregnancy go together like Heinz and pickles. Or like Gerbers and pablum.

The Illusion of Eve is not, however, just a collection of one woman's thoughts about women. The author has done the sort of scholarly spade work that makes the book worthy of consultation by the theologically sophisti-

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cated. The chapter entitled "From the Old Eve to the New Woman" is perhaps the best thing in print for those who want to make sense out of the frequently quoted "anti-feminine" passages of St. Paul. And for the "Mariologist" there is food for thought in Mrs. Callahan's protest against Mary's "feminine role as a model for all women." "Cathedrals and gorgeous art work dedicated to Mary as Queen did not keep woman from being thoroughly suppressed. In fact, one could make a good case that the more prominent the Marian cult in a culture, the more feeble will be women's civil rights and effective freedom . . . Imprisonment upon a pedestal is as effective as any other."

Sprinkled here and there throughout the book are some "horrible examples" of what various persons who should have known better have said about women, examples more horrible than those usually quoted. Speaking of the post-Freudian attitude toward sex, Mrs. Callahan writes, "Optimism has so carried the day that an avant-garde Jesuit could reply to a lady troubled 'that in heaven there will be no marriage' with the assurance that, 'in heaven, dear madam, there will be absolute promiscuity, ab-so-lute promiscuity.'" Another Jesuit, writing in *Theological Studies*, no less, is also quoted as a horrible example, for expatiating on the subject of the "ever-deepening spiritualization of sexual relations . . . where at the moment of mutual orgasm both are elevated in prayer." This interesting phenomenon, for those who wonder, is achieved by "ever-greater human control." Who said research wasn't fun?

Sidney Callahan gives no advice about how to deal with the extremes of Jesuit permissiveness and self-control, but she does provide us with many pages of reasonable suggestions about how women can, despite the pressures of culture and the limitations imposed by family responsibilities, be human though feminine. In fact, the author has so many eminently sensible things to say about the modern woman that one wonders whether anything remains to be said. But doubtlessly the "eternal feminine" people will have plenty to say in rebuttal—though it will be interesting to see how they go about challenging the orthodox femininity of a mother of five children.

The Philosophy of Knowledge

KENNETH T. GALLAGHER

Sheed & Ward, $4.50

THOMAS P. McTIGHE

Is a textbook in philosophy a contradiction in terms? Many would hold that it is. For how can the depth, the complexity and the personal character of a great philosophical vision be compressed into the simplicities of a textbook. One may counter that textbooks need not be simplistic, but, the fact is, they so often are. Hence, teachers of philosophy are more and more turning to the cheap paperback edition of primary sources as a substitute for them.

Perhaps the use of primary sources was always the case in the non-Catholic departments of philosophy, though I have my doubts about that. In any event, paperbacks are very much in use in the major Catholic universities. This turn of events is, of course, partially accounted for simply by their availability. But something deeper is also at stake. The use of paperbacks in Catholic schools is evidence, I believe, of a sharp turn away from the old idea that philosophy was a set of tidy formulas to be mastered for their application elsewhere.

In its place there is evidence of a more open, more authentic conception of philosophy. *Time* was delighted recently to discover this great change taking place in a Catholic institution in Chicago for what it claimed was the first time. *Time*, which so often is slightly out of date, is wrong again. There are, to be sure, departments still teaching philosophy out of those awesomely bad scholastic textbooks. But in the major universities at least, and in not a few of the smaller colleges, pure textbook philosophy is rapidly

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ceasing to be the rule.

In which case, it would seem that Professor Gallagher (not to mention Sheed and Ward) is fighting an uphill battle with the publication of a textbook designed for the usual undergraduate course in epistemology. For if it is a bad book, one more in a long line of them, it will have but a limited sales value. And if it is a good book—up-to-date, creative and not formula ridden—neither the mossbacks nor the progressive departments will adopt it.

Well, let it be said immediately that this is a very good book. It is a refreshingly new approach to textbook writing, which not only exploits skillfully the insights of contemporary thought, but is itself an exercise in philosophy. Professor Gallagher succeeds throughout in conveying the sense of philosophy as an on-going process, a constantly open and unfinished business. This is not to say that he regards philosophy as all search and no find. On the contrary, his felicitous conjunction of the traditional and the contemporary is a fine example of the balance expressed in Augustine's beautiful words: "Let us therefore so seek as though we are about to find, and so find as though we are about to seek."

Professor Gallagher uses the insights of Heidegger, Marcel, Dewey and St. Thomas, among others, to organize a reflection upon the classical, and of the not-so classical, themes in epistemology. His treatment of the problem of knowledge of other selves is especially well done. And all of this in a prose style which for its clarity and charm is rare in textbook writing.

Still, if the spirit of the work cannot be faulted, its historical and doctrinal substance is not always free of flaws. For one thing, I wish Professor Gallagher displayed as much sensitivity to the sinuosities of Descartes' thought as he does to those of Dewey. One of the delights of this book is its critical appreciation of the latter's philosophy of experience. Now if at long last the Catholic thinker is to deal fairly with the likes of Dewey he ought make such fairness a universal principle of interpretation. A *chosiste,* not to say subjectivist and idealist Descartes is no more faithful to the text than were the old caricatures of Dewey. The charge that Descartes' self is "merely a special kind of thing along with other things" simply won't hold up despite its Heideggerian props. In fact, this favorite critical weapon of the existentialists badly needs an overhaul. Emil Fackenheim has some instructive remarks on this point in his brilliant study, *Metaphysics and Historicity.*

History aside, one of the weakest parts of the book is its discussion of first principles. After all that has been written about them it is difficult to appreciate how one can claim to deduce the principle of causality from the principle of sufficient reason. Moreover, this rationalistic approach does not seem to square with Heidegger's notion of truth as unhidden-ness cited approvingly by the author. And what about Heidegger's remark that the principle of sufficient reason marked the last stage of the West's forgetfulness of Being and its surrender to science and technology?

Is Heidegger, too, like certain Thomists, whom Professor Gallagher reproves, so short-sighted as to overlook the possibility of an "existential reformulation" of this principle? Also, if man is, as the author quite rightly insists, a self-constituting process, are not these principles engaged in the historicity of self-making and, therefore, something less than unconditioned? And if they transcend historicity, what happens to the notion of self-making? In the end, it seems, the *ménage à trois* of Heideggerian being, Mareschallian epistemology and a vaguely Thomistic notion of essence and existence never quite achieves concord.

Professor Gallagher's foray into the epistemology of science is also somewhat unsatisfactory. The trouble seems to arise from his concern to do justice both to the pluralistic and the unitary approaches in epistemology. According to the former, epistemology is taken to mean the reflection that can be made on any distinctive body of knowledge, history, the sciences, metaphysics, etc. In the latter, epistemology is regarded as the reflection upon knowing itself. The author devotes full time to its development. As a consequence when he shifts to the pluralistic approach to handle intersubjective knowledge, science, moral and aesthetic experience, something has to give and the empirical sciences end up in a chapter entitled "Remainders."

One can appreciate the bind in which Professor Gallagher finds himself. Nonetheless, it would seem that a fairly thorough exploration of the scientific mode of knowing is as important as an account of intersubjectivity to which a full and excellent chapter is devoted. Not more, but as important. The crucial issue that science poses to the student—where does it belong in human culture—cannot be answered until there is some grasp of what it is, a unique and vexatiously puzzling mode of knowing. To this end something more is needed than a few hurried remarks.

These criticisms, however, have their share of partisanship. The fact remains that Professor Gallagher has produced an exciting new textbook. It is at once both a symbol of, and a contribution to, the *aggiornamento* going on among American Catholic thinkers and in the classrooms over which they preside.

The Anarchists

JAMES JOLL

Atlantic-Little, Brown, $6

RONALD SANDERS

It is difficult both to define anarchism as an idea and to trace it as a historical movement. The problem is particularly acute when one deals with the key period of its history, roughly the last quarter of the nineteenth century, during which anarchism became notorious throughout the world as a movement or an idea responsible for a spectacular array of political assassinations and public murders. The image that arose at this time of the anarchist as a bomb-throwing terrorist obliterated in most people's eyes another concep-

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tion, perhaps the more fitting one, of the peaceable and almost saintly anarchist personality that Prince Peter Kropotkin had quietly represented to the world for the better part of three generations.

Which type truly represented the anarchist tradition? It was the psychopathic daring of the Czolgoszes and the Ravachols that captured the imagination, even winning a certain admiration from some of the world-weary aesthetes of *fin-de-siècle* Europe; but the emotional anti-authoritarianism of these assassins was really the only quality that they shared with the mainstream of European anarchism, which was always socialist in character. In fact, the principal bearers of the anarchist idea in this period were the labor unions in the countries of Latin Europe.

This fact seems paradoxical. How can a radically anti-authoritarian idea achieve expression in an organized mass movement? This question is perhaps most vexing to Americans, who belong to a tradition within which the individualist spirit was anchored mainly in political and economic liberalism, and who are not always aware of the radically individualist strain that was always to be found in the European socialist tradition, especially in its non-Marxist forms. Proudhon, the main immediate forebear of modern anarchism, was as opposed to liberal democracy as he was to capitalism, because he regarded both of these to be overbearingly centralized forms of social organization that would do away with the autonomy of the small community: which in turn, was the only social form within which individual autonomy could survive. Within such communities, Proudhon felt that cooperation would be natural and spontaneous, and no formal authority would be needed to enforce it. The innocence of this conception of the basic goodness of man, largely alien to the twentieth century, is of the very essence of anarchism.

By the end of the nineteenth century, large numbers of the workingmen of France, Italy and Spain were coming to feel that such a conception of human nature applied to themselves but not to the bourgeoisie. A contradiction in the anarchist idea was already beginning to emerge: the syndicates of these workingmen were as organized and led as the vehicles of any social or political movement ever were. But this fact was of no importance so long as the emotions of the syndicalists were directed against what they considered to be the only truly authoritarian enemy, the bourgeoisie, and its political arm, the state.

It was in this phase of anarcho-syndicalism, culminating in the struggles of the Spanish Civil War, that anarchism achieved its widest, most impassioned, and perhaps most characteristic expression. Unfortunately, it is precisely this phase of anarchism that is most difficult for the historian to characterize, since it expresses itself, not in the literary works of a Proudhon, a Godwin or a Kropotkin, but in the inarticulate will of the masses. James Joll's study of anarchism, written with the clarity of thought and conciseness of organization and expression that is the hallmark of Oxford historians, falls as short on this vital point as do its predecessors. His summaries of the ideas of individual anarchist writers are as good as anything of their kind; but on the mass movements, the best descriptions in his book come from such writers as Gerald Brenan and Franz Borkenau, whose works contain some of the best depictions of the poetic and quasi-religious mood of Spanish anarchism that can be found.

One hopes that more work will be done on the subject of anarchism as a mass-movement while there is still time to study it first-hand. There are interesting questions that still might be answerable. What, for example, is the source of the apparently special affinity with anarchism felt by the peasants and workers of Latin Europe? In those regions anarchism seems to be related not merely to religion in general, but quite specifically to the Catholicism of those cultures. As Hegel recognized, distrust of the state is much more characteristic of Catholic than of Protestant countries. The Protestant is more often inclined to see morality as

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inhering within the social contract, whereas the Catholic—especially in the Catholic countries—is more likely to derive his moral principles from a transcendent source, against which the laws of the state may be held in question.

Such a vision is characteristic even of the non-religious Frenchman or Spaniard, whose anti-clericalism is quite often, at its emotional roots, a kind of Catholicism in reverse. This is one of the questions that might be carefully examined one of these days by a scholar who also has some of the intuition of a poet. But if it is to be done, it must be done rather soon. Anarchism was the last protest of peasant societies against the onset of industrialization; as industrialization advances in the world and traditional peasant social forms disappear, the last traces of anarchism are disappearing as well.

The Church and Mankind

VOL. I, DOGMA

Paulist Press, $4.50

H. A. REINHOLD

This is the opening volume of a bold and confident venture in the field of contemporary theology. All the best new theologians are contributing to this collective *Summa*, so its success is almost assured. Its very name, *Concilium*, suggests an ambition to nail down the whole of twentieth-century theology. One has a feeling of urgency as if no time were to be lost to capture the best of Vatican II while total recall is still possible and the beauty of the original is still with us. Its liberation from any preconceived position is quite obvious, because neither scholasticism, nor the preceding schools nor, above all, the theology of the post-tridentine's most narrow period holds the field.

If any labels are needed, they could be "patristic, biblical and existential." But even that would not quite express the scope of the contributions. The startling fact is that the greatest amount of urgency comes less from France or Germany, than from that little country, the Dutch-Belgian netherlands, which is in many respects having its second renaissance after the end of the middle ages. The collection owes its incipient drive to the courage and enterprise of the Dutch. If the whole work keeps to its high level of theological thought and study not only will the success of the collection be guaranteed but the new theology will have found a "text" to which coming centuries will refer as the Theology of Renewal, born miraculously after the long sterile period of the counter-reformation.

The stars of this first volume are, as was to be expected, the spectacular Karl Rahner and the brilliant Edward Schillebeeckx, a Jesuit and a Dominican. Their appearance together shows that we will be spared the ugly spectacle of quarrel and connatural dissent between the two. It may be required, but if it is, it would be a pity. Both have the great gift of obscure style, full of dark allusions and apparent *non sequiturs* which when read aloud or spoken yield life, but when printed on a crowded page yield confusion and obscurity.

The difficulty of following these dark texts should not discourage the student, however, because gems of new insights richly reward repeated reading. This collective enterprise is aimed at the pastoral clergy and, within the new image of the Church, at the lay theologians. The urgent need which this book communicates to secure the new theology for the coming generations in the wake of the Council may be well founded, because the "old and systematic theology" is by no means ready to yield space. Such formidable witnesses to the *tempora acta*, as the Cardinals Ottaviani and Ruffini and the young archbishop of Genoa, Cardinal Siri, are still powerful and feel that they have to save the "traditional" Medieval and post-tridentine from the invasion of the academies by biblical and patristic theologians.

The opening volume of *Concilium* is divided into three parts. The first contains an article by Yves Congar on the first fruit of the Council—the notion of the Church as the People of God which almost supersedes the now traditional Mystical Body. The second article by Joseph Ratzinger investigates the significance of the concept of collegiality, the "new" concept which supposedly will remedy what used to be an overemphasis on the single teaching of Vatican I, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff and his claim to be the highest jurisdictional head of every single member of the faithful, concomitant with the individual bishop and even before him. A greater emphasis on the individual bishop's jurisdiction and the apostolic origin of his office should have softened the rigid dwelling on the primacy of the bishop of Rome and all it comprehends. The former's biblically attested power cannot be denied. The New Testament speaks of it with great frankness and clarity.

Of course all individual articles have to be studied against the background of other articles in the same field to give us a sane and balanced concept. The individual contributions to this field of theology have to be conducted with great care. This applies also to Father Schillebeeckx in the third article. In it he demands that the whole of mankind be regarded as a subject of Redemption, not only the limited number of the incorporated subjects of the redemptive effort of existing Christianity with its visible organization, but also the balance of men: "Christ absent from the universal human community, is made present again through the Resurrection *in* the Church, His Body on earth."

What puzzles the reviewer here is the "on earth"—is it restrictive or a fact in the whole of mankind? The texts of the gospels seem to indicate that the resurrection is an intramural fact, not made known to the whole of mankind. This would indeed overthrow the present theology. It certainly has never been so bluntly stated. The whole faith must be reassessed: "To believe is to have confidence in this mystery thus present: it means trusting in Him in spite of everything and under all circumstances."

It becomes obvious that we cannot discuss in a short review all the mys-

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teries contained in this first volume. The second part "Bibliographical Survey" and the third, "*Documentation Concilium,*" leave us after a first careful reading with the question: how much of our school traditions will have to be completely re-written in the light of the overwhelming discoveries in this first volume—the first volume of fifty! No consequence is avoided here, the courage and daring of the new theology being its greatest asset. But the often obscure wording made necessary by a particular subject (or out of precaution?) leaves a great deal of the immediate impact doubtful: if the seminarian of the future can follow the thought of Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Congar and Ratzinger, his intellectual comprehensiveness is vastly greater than that of our own schooldays.

If it was my purpose to give a leisurely treatment of the volume, topic by topic, I would begin on page 155 which contains a history of the Eucharistic Congresses since they were founded under Leo XIII. This passage embodies the thought of the book, both in doctrine and in critical stance, and it is built on the change portrayed in this book. It shows how far we have come, and gives us a compass through the shoals and eddies of this oceanic (though physically slim) volume. On the whole, it is safe to say that, next to the Council itself, this is the landmark by which the Council must be understood. I hope future volumes will keep this in mind.

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REVIEWERS

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CORRESPONDENCE

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(*Continued from page 275*)

26] is a remarkable stimulant to controversy and as such deserves a prompt reply. In the first place, *complete* historical perspectives, especially of recent centuries, make it hard to conceive of the College of Cardinals as truly "limited by diocesan overtones." The Universal Primacy of the Holy Father, unique in the Church, of itself *raises* any means which he chooses to aid him in discharging *his* duties to the whole Church above mere "diocesan" significance. True, the College has its origins in the ancient Roman clergy, but its international composition has been too familiar a reality, especially in this century, to leave much meaning in that notion. Curial assignments are *delegations* of the Universal Bishop's own authority to allow specialists and experts to assist him in fulfilling his obligations. (In the diplomatic field alone, many a local hierarchy has been *grateful* for the existence of a system of such trained men with *international* significance to help them secure and maintain their local rights.) Curial position notwithstanding, the *chief power* of a cardinal as such is to elect the new Universal Pontiff. The extension of this power to worldwide diocesan ordinaries, religious superiors, theologians and scholars down through the centuries is a powerful counter-tendency to the over-centralizing of the Church government, which deserves its due recognition. (Indeed, the true Roman parish clergy for a long time have had more claim than anyone to "mixed and strong reactions," since their former right to elect the Universal Bishop of Petrine origin and a thousand years' tradition, was taken away from them and given to noted world churchmen many centuries ago!)

History is filled with abuses of power in all fields, and the cardinalate is no more immune than other human bodies (even the patriarchate) from such errors. But, remembering the Universal Bishop's obligations to the *whole* Church, one cannot forget the many instances in history where universal values, doctrinal as well as administrative, were defended and furthered against local ineptness and opposition by conferring of the cardinalate upon men involved in controversy. (The example of Cardinal Newman is a recent and clear case in point.) Over-centralization of the Church is a question belonging to history and practicality, and can hardly be confined or "blamed" on the nature of the cardinalate itself. . . .

As to collegiality, which is the more *practical* application? — allowing the College "to disappear with the passing of its present membership," replacing it with a new "Senate of the Church," —or, recognizing it as an *already existing body* of noted Church leaders from around the world and giving *it* the new functions (yet to be determined by the way) of that Senate? The present Universal Bishop seems to have chosen the more obvious answer.

In the second place, what is a Patriarch? A successor to an Apostolic See? That would eliminate the highest ranking Patriarchal See next to Rome, Constantinople, which missed apostolic foundation by two-and-a-half centuries. The residence of the Emperor is the *only* explanation for its existence and rank, a long way from any "divine" origin. (The Patriarchy of Moscow, founded by the Czar, is only begrudgingly recognized as such by many Orthodox.) Tradition and apostolicity did give prominence to the Sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, but just what was the *nature* of that prominence? Unlike the cardinalate, the patriarchal office cannot be clearly defined either as to origin, or more important, as to *specific powers. De facto,* the Patriarchs were often true leaders of the Churches in their geographical or political regions. But what about their *de jure* authority? Past history, and present Orthodox policy (often given as the true preserver of the office of Patriarch) shows, in the jealously guarded autonomy of individual bishops (even suffragans) and the "autocephaly" of national Churches, that the Patriarchy

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has really been *de jure* strictly an *honorary* position: whatever *de facto* influence political position, personal ability or prestige, may have given the holders of the office, their rightful jurisdiction was confined to their own diocese. . . .

Mr. Bird rightly points out that "the office of the patriarchate does not deserve a cult of nostalgia or antiquarianism." But if it is "not a petrification of history" just *how* is it really "a living and permanent force"? Once again, history shows the much more impressive record in preserving the vitality of the Church in the operations of the Universal Bishop in contrast to those of the Patriarchs of the East, Orthodox and all: – and this in virtue of his *de jure* authority. While on the other hand, oriental history is filled with the struggles of Patriarchs to extend their *de facto* authority by political means even against the prerogatives of their fellow Patriarchs.

Elements of these struggles are still present, which together with an overconcern for honorary titles and their recognition (the multiplication of "Metropolitans" in Greece for example) give ample evidence of attitudes not "necessarily in keeping with the spirit of the Gospel." This reader is not saying that we should *ignore* Orthodox sensitivity to honorary titles and traditions, nor that we should omit practical measures to reduce obstacles to reunion engendered by such sensitivity. But if such issues are truly *major*, then we must ask what sort of people are we dealing with, and the whole prospect of reunion would have to be re-examined.

Finally, with regard to the Catholic Patriarchs, it is true that historical events have isolated groups of Christians who now have as a unifying factor their own distinctive Liturgical Rites. In consideration of this, their chief Bishops do have a claim to a special position of honor *and* authority over their own flocks. The title of Patriarch is a most fitting one (despite the historical anomalies inherent in there being two or more Patriarchs in one city, or as in the case of Maximos IV, one man holding title to several Patriarchal sees). But once again, the Universal Bishop is not the "Head" of the Latin Rite, but of *all* Rites, and his unique authority as "supra-patriarchal" is clear in Liturgical matters as well. Those whom he may appoint to assist him in discharging *his* duties in *this* field, as well as in the others, having also the right of papal electors, are not unreasonably considered to have precedence even over Patriarchs. (Indeed, is not much of the misunderstanding removable by re-emphasizing the *delegated* character of curial-cardinals' authority, in all but papal elections, dependent entirely on the *will* of the Universal Bishop?). . .

Again, with regard to ecclesiastical honors, no matter how traditional, in view of the enormity of world problems how can one take too seriously the question of who has precedence in church processions or even in seating at the Ecumenical Council? The "Rights of Rites" deserve recognition, yes! –

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but in proper proportion please! Perhaps these thoughts were among those which inclined Patriarch Maximos to reverse his former policy and accept from the Universal Bishop a power he had not had before (papal elector) and a title with truly *international* significance. What better way to obtain the recognition His Rite and his flock deserve? (REV.) JOHN W. KOELSCH

Reply

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: What should concern the Church is whether non-Roman Christians are able to see in the universal Bishop the Good Shepherd vouchsafed by Christ to His flock. In this light the repetition of the prerogatives of the papal monarch in the Constitution on the Church and the further insistence at the recent consistory on "authority's needing the complement of dignity and dignity needing to be sustained and given meaning by authority" can only be regretted. Both instances exalt concepts in vogue a century ago rather than those in evidence at Vatican II.

The Roman primacy must be presented to the world as a bond of unity of the universal episcopal college, not as the extension of a local church. It is imperative that the idea be regained (and reinstituted) that the Latin church is a particular local church on a par with other local churches, not an imperialist leviathan (with state machinery at hand for implementing policy). The doctrine of the primacy must be disentangled from the Roman and Western particularism which informs it today.

A major cause for the unremitting hostility of Orthodoxy to the Eastern rite churches is the notion articulated by Father Koelsch that "the Universal Bishop is not the 'Head' of the Latin Rite, but of *all* Rites, and his unique authority as 'supra-patriarchal' is clear in liturgical matters as well." A conciliar peritus and pioneer ecumenist, C.-J. Dumont, O.P., has discussed the papal role in unequivocal terms:

"The Roman pontiff's universal primacy of jurisdiction can be and ought to be exercised with the fullest respect for the proper traditions of all the local Churches, in particular those of the East: with respect therefore, for the autonomy of those churches in whatever concerns their internal government, for that is how it was from the beginning, and it is one of the chief elements of their tradition."

One can only hope that Father Koelsch's justifiably low opinion of ecclesiastical honors will find an early echo in the post-conciliar period. However his slighting of precedence must be faulted on the grounds that precedence is meant to be the tangible expression of a significant reality, in this case a veneration for apostolic sees and conciliar rulings which have been long and solemnly observed by the Christian Churches of East and (less faithfully) of West.

The ascription in the hierarchical order of the patriarchal office to "forgotten historical accidents" makes sense only if Latin canonical legislation is accepted as superior both to Tradition and to the unrescinded rulings of synods held by the Holy See to be ecumenical; such acceptance loses sight of legitimate prerogatives deriving from the apostolicity and antiquity of the patriarchal sees. The cynic would be tempted to find evidence here of the philosophy that "might makes right."

What is a patriarch? Here are some reflections by Archbishop Peter K. Medawar, Auxiliary to Patriarch Maximos IV:

"In the discipline of the Universal Church the patriarchal institution of Eastern Christianity has a special dignity. The patriarch . . . exercises the power of real government in virtue of spiritual and paternal authority, and of the true jurisdiction which ancient tradition and the ecumenical and local councils recognize in his person. This power extends to the election of bishops, the constitution of eparchies, the exercise of legislative, judicial and executive power in disciplinary matters, and in all other matters relative to the spiritual and temporal administration of the church. The patriarch enjoys an autonomous power within the limits of canons and tradition, subject to the rights of other patriarchs and the necessity of union with them. . . .

"In the ecumenical councils, the patriarchs of the Apostolic sees occupy the first rank after the Bishop of Old Rome, Patriarch of the West. . . . The patriarchs have the right and possibly also the duty, in accordance with the old law . . . to carry out the government of the Universal Church. More than once the Bishop of Rome recognized in them these rights and obligations."

Father Koelsch returns to his original confusion when he avers that "we should not ignore Orthodox sensitivity to honorary titles." For most of their existence the churches in question have lived under patriarchal rule, with no reason to consider that vital and continuing government "honorary." If Father were taken at his word not to "omit practical measures to reduce obstacles to reunion engendered by such sensitivity," the Roman Catholic Church would not stop at the return of the relics of Saints Andrew, Sabbas, and Titus, but would nullify the Code of Eastern Canon Law now in effect; and return to the patriarchs of the East their various rightful powers which have, in the course of centuries, been steadily appropriated by the dicasteries of the See of Rome.

Allusions to "relative handfuls of Catholics on the fringes of the Moslem world" bespeak an unhealthy and unevangelical fetishism about numbers. The argument from history demonstrates that the number of faithful has never been a decisive factor in the determination of the hierarchical order.

The argument from tradition requires consideration of the unique kind of representation within Catholic unity given by the uniate patriarchs. Not only do they speak for that Eastern Christendom (living under patriarchal regimes) which embraces over 121 million faithful, a living link with the past. But they have importance as an earnest for the future as well, providing a model of autonomy for such areas as Africa and Asia, where the indigenous

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civilizations reach back into pre-Christian times.

The *ad hominen* argument would inquire how many faithful are subject to the jurisdiction of the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College (81,352), or to the missionary cardinals of Ouagadougou (44,844), Bukoba (181,000), or Colombo (360,281). Both missionary cardinals and those who govern the half-dozen dioceses surrounding Rome have long taken precedence over the titulars of the apostolic patriarchates. The legislation recently promulgated by Pope Paul ensures that the canonical superiority and unique status of these six suburbicarian cardinals will be maintained.

If the comparatively small size of the patriarchal flocks is noted, in justice some of the reasons for their decimation should be cited. Among these is the missionary activity of the Latin church which often aims as strenuously at the "conversion" of Eastern-rite Catholics as at the conversion of Orthodox, Nestorian, or non-Chalcedonian Christians. For over a century the Latin-rite patriarchate of Jerusalem has made a regular practice of accepting Eastern-rite Catholics on a change-of-rite basis; and of receiving Orthodox into the Latin rite. Both of these practices are contrary to papal directives and—at least officially—incur severe punishment.

Unfortunately the "forced assimilation" which Mr. Hitchcock terms "unthinkable" has in fact been well thought out and effectively practiced. To cite merely the situation obtaining in the United States: nearly 200,000 Eastern-rite Catholics (of the Armenian, Byelorussian, Chaldean, Maronite, Melkite, and Russian rites) have no bishops, indeed no Vicars General of their own rite, but depend upon the Latin-rite ordinaries for their government. This has resulted in such regrettable situations as incorrect and impossible liturgical prescriptions being ordered by the Latin bishops; the expulsion of Eastern-rite parishes from church buildings which have then been turned over to Latin-rite congregations, etc. In the 1920's and '30's the lack of someone in episcopal authority familiar with the Eastern rites led to the withdrawal of nearly one million Slavic Catholics and their adhesion to the Orthodox Church. This rupture perdures to our own day.

As long as the cardinalate continues under its present guise, it is unavoidable that the papacy will be interpreted in the setting of occidental forms crowned by curial government. The assertion that that honor expresses collegiality "more fully" remains unproven. The recipient of a red hat is given a post which is esteemed publicly and officially superior to the episcopate. Under such circumstances it tortures the language to allege that the episcopate has been honored or improved. The *man* has been honored. At best the episcopate has remained what it was; at worst, it has undergone a devaluation.

To claim that the primacy elevates any means employed by it "above mere 'diocesan' significance" is to succumb to a notion, widespread but nonetheless ecclesiologically false, which ignores the uniquely personal character of the Roman primacy. "Delegation" of this primacy is impossible. The theological fabrication of "extensions of the papal person" must cease if any progress is to be made toward re-establishing equilibrium of authority in the Church. In discussing the ubiquitous extensions of the papal *persona* and the recent guarantee of longevity given the College of Cardinals, an observation of the noted Lutheran theologian, Professor George Lindbeck, is apposite: "It is an outrage when a Christian communion creates in practice . . . an appearance contrary to the true nature of the Church; but it is doubly so when a communion is officially committed to that appearance."

The essential point at issue is whether the *Roman* Church is to be modernized or whether the *Catholic* Church is to be reformed. Only when the Church puts the things of her medieval adolescence behind her will her ecclesiology serve as a positive catalyst rather than an insuperable obstacle to Christian unity. THOMAS E. BIRD

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